AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

COLONY

OF

SIERRA LEONE,

FROM ITS

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT IN

BEING THE

SUBSTANCE OF A REPORT

DELIVERED TO THE

PROPRIETORS

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS.

London:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY

James Philips,

GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD STREET

1795

At a General Court of the Sierra Leone Company, held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton Street, London, on Thursday the 27th day of March, 1794,

PRESENT

Henry Thornton, Esq. in the Chair,
Several Members of the Court of Directors,
And between One and Two Hundred of the Proprietors,

The Minutes of the last General Court of the 30th day of May, 1793, were read and confirmed.

A Report from the Court of Directors was then read, of which the following is the substance.



SUBSTANCE

OF THE

REPORT, &c.

ABOUT two years having elapſed ſince the preſent colony at Sierra Leone was ſet on foot, the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company think it proper to give in this report a brief hiſtory of its progreſs to the preſent time: they will then lay before the Court an account of the Expenſes which have been incurred, and of the general finances of the Company; and they will afterward enter into a more particular deſcription of the Preſent Situation of the ſettlement, arranging their information under the four following heads; Health, Trade, Cultivation, and Civilization.

IN order to introduce the ſhort Hiſtory that is propoſed, it may be proper to ſtate

 ſome

ſome circumſtances antecedent even to the formation of the preſent colony.

In the year 1787, a number of gentlemen ſubſcribed a few thouſand pounds, as a fund for aſſiſting ſome hundreds of deſtitute blacks, then in London, to ſettle at Sierra Leone, where a conſiderable diſtrict of land had been ceded by the native chiefs for that purpoſe: government very liberally ſeconded theſe views, by taking upon itſelf the expenſe of tranſporting the blacks thither, and of ſupplying them with neceſſaries during the firſt ſix or eight months of their reſidence in Africa. It might naturally be expected that perſons of this deſcription, crouded together on ſhipboard, would be very unhealthy, and the event did but too well juſtify the ſuppoſition. The number of them that left England was 460, of whom 84 died during their detention in the channel, or on the paſſage; and near a hundred more fell victims either to their own intemperance, or to the hardſhips they were expoſed to during the firſt rainy ſeaſon. The remainder of this body of men, after having built themſelves a town, and improved gradually in their circumſtances, were diſperſed in the year 1790, on account of their being involved (though not through their own fault) in the conſequences of a diſpute between the natives and the crew of a Britiſh veſſel, who had ſet fire to the town of a neighbouring chief. They were

again

again united in the year 1791, through the interference of the Sierra Leone Company's Agent, and fixed themſelves in Granville Town, which is about two or three miles diſtant from Free Town, the Company's preſent chief ſettlement.

When the Act of Parliament had paſſed for incorporating the Sierra Leone Company, and a conſiderable capital appeared likely to be raiſed for carrying on the undertaking, the Directors had an opportunity of rendering, as they conceived, a very important ſervice to the colony, by the acquiſition of an additional number of free black coloniſts, acquainted with the Engliſh language, and accuſtomed to labour in hot climates. A delegate from a body of blacks in Nova Scotia, ſuppoſed to amount to a few hundreds, who was then in England, repreſented that the perſons who ſent him hither had migrated to Nova Scotia at the end of the American war, having received from government certain promiſes of lots of land, which had never been ſtrictly fulfilled; that both the ſoil and the climate of Nova Scotia, as well as many other circumſtances in their ſituation, were complained of by them, and that many of them were deſirous of becoming coloniſts at the ſettlement which they underſtood was likely to be made at Sierra Leone.

The Directors concurred with the Delegate in applying to his Majeſty's Miniſters for a paſſage for them at the expenſe of govern-

ment, and having obtained a favourable anſwer to their application, they immediately availed themſelves of the ſervices of Lieut. Clarkſon, who very handſomely offered to go to Nova Scotia, in order to make the neceſſary propoſals, and to ſuperintend the collecting and bringing over of ſuch free blacks to Sierra Leone, as might be willing to migrate. All the particulars of the terms, on which the Company engaged to receive them into the colony, were contained in a printed declaration, of which the following is a copy:

"The Sierra Leone Company, willing to "receive into their colony ſuch free blacks "as are able to produce to their agents "Lieut. Clarkſon, of his Majeſty's Navy, "and Mr. Lawrence Hartſhorn, of Halifax, "or either of them, ſatisfactory teſtimonials "of their character, (more particularly as to "honeſty, ſobriety, and induſtry) think it "proper to notify, in an explicit manner, "upon what terms they will receive at Sierra "Leone, thoſe who bring with them written "certificates of approbation, from either of "the ſaid agents, which certificate they are "hereby reſpectively authoriſed to grant or "withhold at diſcretion.

"It is therefore declared by the Company, "that every free black, upon producing ſuch "a certificate, ſhall have a grant of not leſs "than twenty acres of land for himſelf, ten "for his wife, and five for every child, upon "ſuch terms, and ſubject to ſuch charges

and

" and obligations, with a view to the general
" profperity of the Company, as fhall here-
" after be fettled by the Company, in refpect
" to grants of land to be made by them to
" all fettlers, whether black or white.

" That for all ftores and provifions, &c.
" fupplied from the Company's warehoufes,
" the Company fhall receive an equitable
" compenfation, according to fixed rules,
" extending to blacks and whites indifcrimi-
" nately.

" That the civil, military, perfonal, and
" commercial rights and duties of blacks and
" whites fhall be the fame, and fecured in
" the fame manner.

" And for the full affurance of perfonal
" protection from flavery to all fuch black
" fettlers, the Company have fubjoined a
" claufe contained in the Act of Parliament,
" whereby they are incorporated, &c.

" *Provided alfo, and be it further enacted,*
" *that it fhall not be lawful for the faid*
" *Company, either directly or indirectly,*
" *by itfelf or themfelves, or by the agents*
" *or fervants of the faid Company, or*
" *otherwife howfoever, to deal or traffick*
" *in the buying or felling of flaves, or in*
" *any manner whatever to have, hold,*
" *appropriate or employ any perfon or*
" *perfons in a ftate of flavery, in the*
" *fervice of the faid Company.*"

" Given under our hands, London, the 2d
" day of Auguft, 1791.

" *Henry*

" *Henry Thornton,*
Chairman.
Philip Sanfom,
D. Chairman
" *Charles Middleton*
" *William Wilberforce*
" *Granville Sharp*
" *John Kingston*
" *Samuel Parker*
" *Jofeph Hardcaftle*
" *Thomas Clarkfon*
" *Vickeris Taylor*
" *William Sanford*
" *Thomas Eldred*
" *George Wolff.*

" N. B. For the convenience of thofe who " are poffeffed of property which they can- " not difpofe of before their departure, the " Company will authorife an agent, who, " on receiving from any proprietor a fufficient " power for that purpofe, fhall fell the fame " for his benefit, and remit the purchafe- " money, through the hands of the Com- " pany, to fuch proprietor at Sierra Leone."

The number of Nova Scotians who were willing to embark for Sierra Leone, proved, to the great furprife of the Directors, to be no lefs than 1196. The acceffion of fo large a body of people could not fail to produce many important confequences, and to give, in fome meafure, a new character to the whole undertaking.

The Directors turned their attention in the firft place, to the fupply of the immediate wants of thefe numerous colonifts; and they, at the fame time, brought forward a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital, which was raifed to the fum of £.235,280: a con-

a conſiderable portion of it having been ſubſcribed after the intelligence from Nova Scotia was received.

The firſt veſſel ſent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra Leone in February 1792, and ſhe was ſoon followed by two other veſſels from hence, one of them carrying a conſiderable number of paſſengers. There went out in all, by theſe ſhips, rather more than 100 white perſons; of whom about 40 were Company's ſervants, or artificers, at a yearly ſalary; 10 were ſettlers; 16 were ſoldiers; and between 30 and 40 were women and children.

In the ſucceeding month the Nova Scotia fleet arrived, conſiſting of 16 veſſels, from which there were landed 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever firſt contracted in Halifax, of which 65 had died during the paſſage. Mr. Clarkſon, whoſe humanity had led him to embark on board the hoſpital ſhip, had alſo narrowly eſcaped with his life, from a violent attack of the ſame diſorder; he was extremely weak and ill when he landed at Sierra Leone, and he recovered very ſlowly.

After two or three weeks delay, ariſing from a palaver (or council) of the natives, which however ended favourably for the Company, the ſcite on which the firſt body of blacks ſent from hence had originally

ſettled,

fettled, was pitched upon as the moft proper fpot for the intended fettlement. The land on which the town was to ftand was cleared in a few weeks more, by the united labour of the Nova Scotians; and the feveral ftreets having been firft marked out by the furveyor, they then began to erect each for himfelf a fmall temporary hut, ufing the common materials of the country, except that the flooring was furnifhed in fome cafes by deals from hence. The colonifts proceeded with the utmoft eagernefs in this work, for they feared left they fhould be overtaken by the rains, which might be expected to commence in lefs than two months from the time of their beginning to build. The town was named FREETOWN, in confequence of an inftruction fent out to this purpofe.

The Directors, aware of the danger to which it was poffible that many of the fettlers might be expofed through the want of fufficient fhelter, during the firft rainy feafon, thought it a point of duty to purchafe and fend out the York, a fhip of 850 tons, fitted up with a view to their accommodation, which they loaded with various ftores, as well as frames of houfes and materials for building. They confidered that, befides carrying out a large cargo, fhe might ferve as a receptacle for thofe whofe houfes were unfinifhed, or as an hofpital for the fick, and might afterwards be converted into a ftorehoufe for the Company. She arrived indeed too late to be

of

of any advantage to the colony during the chief part of the ſickly ſeaſon, having been driven back by a ſtorm after leaving England: ſhe proved however of very conſiderable uſe afterwards, both as a ſtorehouſe and floating factory, as well as in facilitating the loading and unloading of other veſſels; and ſhe was alſo, for ſome time, the place of reſidence for many ſervants of the Company.

The precautions taken by the Directors, and the early as well as liberal ſupply of neceſſaries ſent out by them, unhappily were not effectual in preventing a conſiderable mortality during the firſt rainy ſeaſon. The rains began about the third week in May; many ſettlers houſes were not completed, the Company's ſtorehouſe was but imperfectly built, and their ſervants, eſpecially thoſe of the lower order, were very badly accommodated: the ſoldiers alſo were liable, from various cauſes, to be much expoſed, and the few ſettlers who went from England, were leaſt of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties of a rainy ſeaſon. Perhaps the high degree of health which almoſt univerſally prevailed at the period antecedent to the rains, by creating too much confidence in the goodneſs of the climate, eſpecially among the Europeans, might occaſion ſome ſlackneſs in making the neceſſary preparations.

It is obvious from this general view of the ſlow progreſs of the colony, that no attempt could as yet have been made to ſurvey and

mark

mark out the promifed lots of land; the building of a temporary town having hitherto engroffed nearly the whole attention both of Nova Scotians and of the Company's fervants: nor had any fteps, worthy of being mentioned, been as yet taken with a view to commerce; though, through the miftaken advice of the Company's commercial agent, fome goods for trade had been fent out by the very firft fhips.

The Directors think they ought not to conceal from the proprietors, that a confiderable degree of mifunderftanding had prevailed, antecedent to this period, between the Governor and the Council; and that to their inefficiency, during the firft three or four moft important months, a part at leaft of the fubfequent calamity is evidently to be traced.

Eight of the principal fervants had been nominated to be members of the council, and all the inferior officers had been enjoined to pay the fame obedience to their orders which they owed to the Court of Directors themfelves. The office of Governor having become vacant at the time when the firft fhip failed, Mr. Clarkfon, who had given great fatisfaction by his conduct in Nova Scotia, was requefted to fill the fituation till a fucceffor fhould be appointed, and he had the cafting vote in council.

The Directors, alarmed by the evident want of order and energy betrayed even by the firft accounts, adopted the temporary expedient

dient of throwing the whole responsibility on Mr. Clarkson, giving him permission at the same time to assume the whole power. Whether the Directors erred in dividing the authority among so many as eight persons, or whether the blame belonged more properly to the Governor and Council, it is not perhaps material now to canvas. The Directors acquit the body of acting counsellors of all wilful misconduct; with the exception indeed of one person detained in their employ, but not originally appointed by them, whose knowledge of the natives and of the country made him appear a person of importance at the outset of the undertaking, but whose habits of intoxication, idleness, and irregularity, as well as want of accuracy in his information, it is necessary to mention as one chief cause of the first difficulties of the Colony, and of the first commercial disappointments of the Company. It is partly to be ascribed to the extraordinary neglect of this person (whom it was the duty of the Governor and Council to direct and control) that the colony was not supplied with any fresh provisions before the sickly season arrived. The Company's ships were not employed for this purpose, as was directed to be done; and the original body of instructions to the Governor and Council, drawn up by the Court of Directors and read to the proprietors, received little or no consideration till long after this period. Confusion in the accounts, in the stores, in the government, in the information

mation ſent home, and in the operations of every kind prevailed; and this confuſion not only tended to aggravate in many ways the diſtreſs of the ſickly ſeaſon, but it ought, perhaps, to be ſtated as one principal occaſion of the extraordinary mortality.

The Directors by no means make theſe obſervations with any perſonal views, but they think it their duty, when they are ſtating the material events that have happened, to declare alſo their own impartial opinion of the cauſes which have led to them. And as all the diſtreſſes and difficulties of the colony were during the firſt rainy ſeaſon at their height, they think it proper to be very particular in their deſcription both of the antecedent ſtate of things, and of this calamitous period itſelf. The difference, and indeed the contraſt, that has been experienced between the firſt and ſecond rainy ſeaſons, enables them to do this without fear either of greatly diſpiriting the proprietors, or diſcrediting the undertaking.

The ſickneſs was the moſt ſevere and alarming at the beginning of the rains: about 800 blacks were ſuppoſed to be laid up at one time, and very few paſſed through the whole of this trying ſeaſon without ſome indiſpoſition. The diſorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected in different degrees the blacks and whites almoſt indiſcriminately, proved much the moſt fatal to the Europeans, and eſpecially to thoſe

living

living on ſhore; among whom the mortality was, at one time, ſuch as to excite reaſonable apprehenſions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking, in the minds of any perſons not well acquainted with the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe.

In the height of the ſickneſs, all the medical perſons, with but one exception, were laid up, ſo that a few of the chief ſervants only could be properly attended. The ſtore-keepers, living in a damp ſtorehouſe, were ſome of the firſt victims; increaſing difficulty and confuſion in the delivery of the ſtores was the conſequence: a retail ſhop had not yet been ſet up, nor had a money-medium been eſtabliſhed; the doors of the ſtorehouſe were continually crouded, but neither food nor phyſic, nor the other neceſſaries for the ſick, though ſupplied by the Directors in ſufficient quantities, were properly diſtributed. The ſettlers huts, which were very ſmall, were alſo many of them damp, and a few were as yet unfiniſhed: a great depreſſion of ſpirits at the ſame time generally prevailed, which produced a total helpleſſneſs in the caſe of one or two families from England, and this was one chief aggravation of the diſorder.

The Directors will not here anticipate all the more particular information which they will have to give on the head of the colony's health, ſince it will be found in its place in a ſubſequent part of this report: they will at preſent only mention that almoſt one

one half of the whites living on ſhore were carried off during this dreadful ſeaſon, and nearly one tenth of the Nova Scotians.

The colony was juſt emerging from that ſtate of diſtreſs into which it had been thrown, when a new event of a perplexing kind called for the attention of the government. A ſhip arrived from the Iſle of * Bulam, having on board a great number of paſſengers, many of them extremely ſick, who deſired to be received into the colony. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had previouſly declined accepting propoſals to go out as coloniſts, made to them in England by many of the ſame perſons who went to Bulam; for they had conceived the firſt ſucceſs of their colony eſſentially to depend on the excluſion of all Europeans; thoſe alone excepted who, being in the regular pay of the Company were entirely ſubject to them. They were afraid that even a few men from hence of an improper caſt, in the ſituation of independent ſettlers, might materially prejudice or endanger the undertaking; that they might corrupt the morals of the colony, refuſe due obedience to government, as well as excite a ſpirit of general diſcontent; and if for any of theſe cauſes they ſhould be ex-

* The Iſle of Bulam, on which the Bulam Aſſociation propoſed to make a ſettlement, is ſituated near the mouth of the Rio Grande, about two and a half degrees, or about 175 miles north of Sierra Leone. The Bollam, or Bulam Shore, hereafter ſpoken of, is the ſhore immediately oppoſite Sierra Leone. —See Map.

cluded from the ſettlement, that they might then only be driven, eſpecially if they had left debts in England, to ſeek a precarious livelihood, by various improper means, among the neighbouring natives, and perhaps eventually to turn to Slave Traders.

The Directors had been determined by theſe conſiderations to forbid for the preſent, with a very few exceptions, the admiſſion of Europeans into the colony; they had alſo deemed it neceſſary to inquire very ſtrictly, both into the characters and circumſtances of thoſe who went out in their ſervice; and they had made it a rule to let no man go to Sierra Leone, who left debts in England undiſcharged; a rule of great uſe and importance, the principle of which muſt be given up if the Bulam adventurers, who were a body of men unknown to the Sierra Leone Company, ſhould be received there. The Directors had taken the precaution of informing the Governor and Council very fully of their ſentiments, on the whole of this important ſubject; and they had directed that every friendly aſſiſtance ſhould be rendered to the Bulam colony; but in caſe it ſhould happen that they ſhould leave Bulam and come to Sierra Leone, that they were not to be allowed permanently to ſettle there. The Sierra Leone government, in conformity with theſe inſtructions, declined receiving the paſſengers from Bulam as reſidents into the colony; but after ſupplying the ſick with a few neceſſaries, who were accommodated for

a ſhort

a ſhort time on ſhore, they furniſhed them with a veſſel to aſſiſt in bringing them back to England, as their own ſhip, the Calypſo, was exceedingly crouded.

The Directors have thought it proper to ſtate thus fully and explicitly, both the orders ſent out and the motives which operated with them on the occaſion that has been juſt ſpoken of: they were by no means actuated by narrow views of monopoly and jealouſy of other traders; nor ſhall they ever ſuffer themſelves, as they truſt, to be governed by any ſuch principles; and they are perſuaded alſo, that they ſhall only ſecond the views of the proprietors, by giving encouragement and aſſiſtance to any prudent and well regulated ſchemes of ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa, ſo far as it can be done without too much expenſe to themſelves, and without committing to any freſh hazard the intereſts of their own colony.

The chief object that engaged the attention of the government of Sierra Leone after the ſickneſs abated, was the diſtribution of the lots of land; a work much more arduous than had been expected. It was found impracticable indeed to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; thoſe lands of the Company which are either contiguous to the water ſide, or within a reaſonable diſtance from Freetown, not being ſufficient for the purpoſe. Even the labour of cutting the neceſſary paths, and of meaſuring ſo great a

tract

tract of country, would have been too great to be eaſily accompliſhed in a ſingle ſeaſon. The Nova Scotians were made ſo ſenſible of this, that they were willing to accept of four acre lots for the preſent, of which however they now became exceedingly eager to have immediate poſſeſſion.

Both the Directors and the Sierra Leone Government were earneſt to have this important work effected; for they were bound by the ſpirit of the promiſes made in Nova Scotia to loſe no time in diſtributing the land, they were urged alſo by the continual importunities of the coloniſts, and they were at the ſame time influenced by pecuniary conſiderations to attempt the moſt ſpeedy accompliſhment of the buſineſs; ſince each coloniſt either continued to draw from the public ſtores a gratuitous allowance of proviſions, until his lot of ground was given him, or elſe was employed in working under the Company, when perhaps there was no great occaſion for his ſervices.

The orders ſent out by the Directors on the ſubject of proviſions, extended only to an allowance for a term that was ſpecified, and applied equally to the Nova Scotians, to the Company's ſervants, and to the few coloniſts from hence. The government were inſtructed to give to all theſe univerſally three months full allowance, equal to the common army allowance, and three months half allowance; but they, conceiving that the mo-

tives which suggested the giving of this gratuity, as well as the equity and even the necessity of the case, called for some extension of it, thought proper to continue giving it to all those colonists who were kept out of possession of their four acre lots of land, and who were not engaged in the Company's employ. The Directors, though sensible of the great charge to which they were subjecting the Company, on taking all circumstances into their consideration, could not refuse their acquiescence in these measures of the government.

The importance of proceeding with as little delay as possible in the distribution of the lands was so strongly felt in the colony, that the Company's Surveyor of buildings (who took on him the duty of the Surveyor of lands, the latter having returned on account of ill health to England) attempted with the greatest spirit to begin his operations, together with a party of Nova Scotians, even before the rains were over; but he was repeatedly stopped by sickness. Nearly the whole succeeding dry season was consumed before the complete survey and distribution of the four acre lots were finished, though very great and constant exertions were made, and a large party of men were employed in the work.

The Directors feel much regret at having to mention to the Proprietors, that the land adjoining to the settlement has proved by no

means

means ſo good as every account received before the inſtitution of the Company had led them to expect. The deſcription given of it in the work of Lieutenant Matthews, to which they had in ſome meaſure truſted, is far more favourable than further obſervation of that particular part of the country would have juſtified. The Directors ſtate this to be a diſappointment of the moſt ſerious kind, to which may be aſcribed many of the difficulties, and a great part of the unexpected charges, that have attended the eſtabliſhment of the colony. The ſcite of Freetown is unqueſtionably the beſt that can be found, in reſpect of the ſalubrity of the air, the goodneſs of the water, and the convenience of the landing-place; it can hardly fail therefore to continue the chief place of trade, though other parts at a moderate diſtance, particularly thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of the river, will be found the moſt favourable to cultivation. Conſiderable pains and expenſe have been beſtowed on the improvement of the landing-place; ſeveral other public works of the firſt importance, ſuch as the erecting of a church, hoſpital, warehouſes, and other buildings (of which the frames were ſent from hence), the fencing and cultivating of a garden of experiment, and the execution of ſome meaſures for the defence of the colony, have alſo conſtantly occupied a conſiderable number of the Nova Scotia blacks, and have cauſed a very large

 expenſe.

expenſe. The Directors have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that no fort has been thought neceſſary.

As the ſecond dry ſeaſon advanced, the colony appears to have been improving in all reſpects. An alteration was made in the mode of government, a new council of three perſons having been determined on by the Court of Directors inſtead of a council of eight; and two gentlemen of conſiderable experience *, the one uſed to a new colony, the other to a tropical climate, were the counſellors ſent out.

Regular minutes of council were kept from this period, and alſo a journal of every material tranſaction in the colony, copies of which were ſent to England from time to time. Periodical reports of the progreſs of each principal ſervant of the Company, in his particular department, were alſo made to the government, and tranſmitted, together with their remarks thereon, to the Directors; an indent was ſent home of all the European articles likely to be conſumed annually by the coloniſts; a more correct mode of correſponding was entered upon; and the original inſtructions of the Court, as well as various parts of their ſubſequent letters, were now, for the firſt time, fully anſwered.

* Mr. Dawes and Mr. Macaulay.

At

At the ſame æra when this improvement took place in reſpect to the intelligence ſent to England, the internal order of the colony appears to have advanced materially. New plans were formed for the maintenance of the police and the adminiſtration of juſtice; more general harmony began to prevail alſo among the Company's ſervants; ſome pains were taken to bring up and ſettle properly the Company's accounts which had fallen into great confuſion, and more regularity of every kind was introduced: at the ſame time the public works gradually advanced, a plan was formed for rebuilding the town on a more extenſive ſcale; and the natives (who continued perfectly friendly and often flocked to the ſettlement) appeared to view the improving ſtate of Sierra Leone with increaſing ſatisfaction.

The breaking out of the war indeed at this time damped the hopes, and in ſome meaſure interrupted the progreſs, of the riſing colony; the embargo laid on ſhipping in England, at the beginning of it, detained ſome of the Company's veſſels at a very inconvenient period; the prohibition to ſend out proviſions, except in ſhips armed, as well as ſailing with convoy, proved alſo highly detrimental to the ſettlement: great murmurs were excited by the temporary want of flour, which was the conſequence, and the dread of not being able to get from the neighbourhood a ſufficient quantity of rice (the ſubſtitute for bread to

 which

which the Directors trusted) occasioned very serious uneasiness to the government. The additional price that was laid on the Company's goods, in consequence of the war, aggravated the discontent of the colonists; and a part of the proposed plan for rebuilding the town was about this time vehemently objected to by the Nova Scotians, they refusing to admit of a reservation of ground near the shore, which the Government thought proper to make for the sake of public convenience: this last dispute was settled, after some degree of concession on the part of the company. The secret cause, however, to which the Directors have been informed that much of the dissatisfaction prevailing at this period may be traced, was the unbecoming conduct of one of the Company's servants, who, on Mr. Clarkson's leaving the colony, took occasion to prejudice a considerable party of labourers working under him, against the succeeding government. This body of men made an attempt to raise the price of labour in the colony, which was already very high, by combining to leave their work; but not finding the government inclined to yield in any measure to their wishes, they returned, after a week's interval, to their employments, and the Company's servant who was supposed to have sown the seeds of this dissention, and who had also manifested the greatest disrespect towards the government, having come to England, was dismissed from the service.

For

For the ſake of ſatisfying the minds of the coloniſts, and ſecuring the peace of the ſettlement, it was agreed that two delegates, to be choſen by the whole body of Nova Scotians, ſhould be ſent to England to lay their complaints before the Court of Directors. This meaſure appears to have immediately produced the good effect expected from it.

Many circumſtances happened during the courſe of this ſecond ſeaſon, which clearly demonſtrated the practicability of introducing cultivation, trade, and civilization into Africa, although the prevalence of the Slave Trade, and the counteracting influence of the perſons engaged in it almoſt every where impeded, more or leſs, the views of the Company. One of the Members of Council, accompanied by another ſervant of the Company, made a voyage to the Iſland of Bananas, the Camarancas River, and the Plaintain Iſland, all lying to the ſouth of Sierra Leone, converſed with ſome of the chiefs, and happily removed, in a great meaſure, the prejudices which they had imbibed againſt the Company, whoſe deſigns had been repreſented to them as directly hoſtile to their intereſt. As much information on the general ſubject of Civilization will be given in detail hereafter, no more than the brief mention of the ſucceſs of the Company's endeavours to intereſt the chiefs in their favour, ſeems in this place neceſſary.

The advancing ſtate of a regular plantation of the Company, worked by native labourers, on the ſide of the river oppoſite to Freetown, is another ſubject neceſſary to be noticed here, in order to give a juſt idea of the progreſs of the Colony; but this alſo, as well as the benefits derived from the labours of the Company's botaniſt, will be more particularly ſpoken of under the head of Cultivation.

The Directors are ſorry to mention, that the exertions of their mineralogiſt, who was promiſing to himſelf great ſucceſs in his reſearches, were ſuddenly terminated by an unhappy accident which brought on his death. His impatience to purſue the objects for the ſake of which he went out, led him, contrary to the opinion of the Governor and Council, to attempt an incurſion into the interior country before the rains were over: he was furniſhed with goods to the amount of £200 or £300, with which he propoſed to trade as well as to purchaſe neceſſaries during his journey, and he was attended when he ſet off by one or two free blacks. It appears that he was after a ſhort time plundered of his goods, in a part of the country where ſome danger of this ſort might have been apprehended. When he got back to Sierra Leone, he was too weak and exhauſted by a fever, which he had contracted during his expedition, to give any diſtinct account of his misfortunes, or of the hardſhips he had ſuffered on his return, and he died a few days after.

A number

A number of other circumſtances very in-tereſting to the colony, and to the feelings of the Directors, have happened from time to time, which, if they were all detailed, would extend this report to a very conſiderable length: the recital of them would tend to ſhew the variety of unexpected difficulties, accidents, and dangers to which a new colony is ſubject, and more fully to explain the cauſes of that very large expenditure which the Directors will have to ſtate: it would alſo ſerve to exhibit the growing ſtrength of the colony; and to prove that it has now become much more able to ſurmount any common accident, than it had been during its earlier infancy.

One event not yet noticed deſerves to be particularized; that of the arrival at Sierra Leone of the late King Naimbanna's ſon, who had come to England for education, and his death within two days after. His character and improvement in learning will make an intereſting article, when the particular point of the Civilization of Africa is conſidered. His father, who was king or chief of Sierra Leone, died a few months after the inſtitution of the colony, to which he ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions the firmeſt friend, and the news of his deceaſe occaſioned his ſon's return. It is not at all probable, that if the ſon had lived he would have been elected King by the chiefs with whom the choice lies; for they ſeem diſpoſed in this

inſtance,

inſtance, as has been the cuſtom in other caſes, to prefer ſome perſon of a more advanced age to all the young relations of the deceaſed. But though the Directors had no expectation that the ſon would ſucceed to the ſituation of his father, yet there were circumſtances which led them to hope that he would not fail to render moſt important ſervices to the Company on his return to his native country; and they therefore wiſh to pay to his memory the juſt tribute of obſerving, that they conſider the death of ſo ſincere a friend to the Sierra Leone Company, and of ſo enlightened an African, as one of the calamities with which they have been viſited, and as one of the inſtances in which Providence has been pleaſed to diſappoint the immediate hopes and expectations of the infant colony. A ſuſpicion aroſe amongſt his countrymen, in conſequence of the groundleſs ſuggeſtion of a black, that he had been poiſoned by a ſervant of the Company on ſhip board, and a long palaver was held upon the ſubject; by which, though it ended favourably, ſome alarm was excited in the ſettlement, and ſome very unreaſonable expenſes, through the neceſſity of entertaining a great concourſe of natives, were incurred.

The Directors in giving this hiſtorical account of the colony, which they have now brought down to the beginning of the ſecond rainy ſeaſon, have not ſpoken of the Trade

of the Company, that being a ſubject which will be better treated of by itſelf. It muſt be obvious, from the view of things which has been given, that the eſtabliſhment of the colony, involving as it has done the happineſs of above a thouſand perſons, and implicating alſo in a great meaſure the future commercial intereſts of the Company, has hitherto been the chief object. Conſiderable exertions however were made during the ſecond dry ſeaſon in the way of trade, the Governor and Council having followed up the orders ſent out on this ſubject with great ſpirit.

But here the Directors have to mention another calamity very lately announced to them, which is likely to produce ſome degree of inconvenience to the colony, as well as interruption to the trade; but which is chiefly to be lamented on account of the pecuniary loſs attending it, namely, the deſtruction of the Company's ſtore-ſhip the York, with a conſiderable quantity of goods in her, by fire. Theſe conſiſted partly of the cargo of the ſhip Harpy, which had lately arrived from England, and partly of African produce, valued at about £4000, which had been collected by the Company's ſmall veſſels up and down the coaſt, and was on the point of being ſent to England. The fire is ſtated to have happened in the day time, but to have ſpread nevertheleſs with great rapidity, having caught the awning over the deck: ſome attempts were made to induce both the natives and

ſettlers

ſettlers to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing it, but they all refuſed to approach the veſſel, conceiving that a large quantity of gunpowder was on board, nor would they credit any aſſurances to the contrary. The whole loſs ſuſtained by the Company on this occaſion, is calculated by the Governor and Council at above £.15,000. No inſurance had been made either on the veſſel or the goods in her, which indeed it would not have been very practicable to effect, to any conſiderable extent, under all the circumſtances of the caſe. The ſame veſſel which brought home the account of the fire, brought alſo the firſt information both of the collection of this African produce, and of the arrival at Sierra Leone of the goods which were burnt.

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of obſerving to the Court, that the ſame diſpatches which conveyed this unhappy intelligence, brought alſo very favourable accounts of the colony, particularly in reſpect to healthineſs, up to the end of the ſecond rainy ſeaſon. In the period correſponding to that which had carried off, in the preceding year, one tenth of the blacks and nearly one half of the whites, no particular mortality had happened; and yet the laſt ſeaſon is ſaid to have been more unfavourable than uſual, the rains having been heavy, and the mortality in the neighbouring factories uncommonly great. It is obſervable alſo, that the reſidents on ſhore

are

are found now to have their health much better than thoſe on ſhip-board, the experience of the ſecond year being in this reſpect the reverſe of the experience of the firſt: even the mortality on ſhip-board, however, appears in the ſecond year to have decreaſed. On the whole therefore the Directors truſt, that ſince the colony has ſtood its ground even during the worſt part of a very unhealthy year, it may now fairly be conſidered as in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement.

Having thus brought the Hiſtory of the ſettlement down to the period of Chriſtmas 1793, the Directors will ſtate in the next place ſome circumſtances which have taken place in England, before they proceed to give an account of the ſums which have been expended, and of the preſent ſtate of the Company's capital.

It has been already mentioned that two delegates, choſen by the body of Nova Scotians, were permitted by the Governor and council to go to England, in order to lay the various complaints of their conſtituents before the Court of Directors. They preſented a petition purporting to be the ſenſe of the whole body, couched in ſtrong terms, which however the Directors have ſome reaſon to think were not thoroughly approved by a great part of the Nova Scotians: the petition had never been ſhewn to the Governor and Council. The points complained of were, chiefly,

the

the high price of goods at the Company's ſtore-houſe; the inadequate wages paid to them by the Company for their labour; the nonfulfilment of certain promiſes ſaid to have been made to them by Mr. Clarkſon; and a variety of trifling inſtances of ſuppoſed miſconduct in the ſucceeding Governor.

The Court of Directors, after fully conſidering the petition, and hearing the evidence of the delegates thereupon, came to the following reſolution, which was communicated to them:

" Reſolved,

" That the Court conſider the petition of
" the Nova Scotians as haſty, and the facts
" therein mentioned as chiefly founded on
" miſtake and miſinformation.

" That it appears to have been drawn up
" and agreed to, at a time when the unfor-
" tunate delay of the Company's ſhips, through
" the breaking out of the war, had occaſioned
" ſome temporary diſtreſs and diſſatisfaction,
" which ſome deſigning perſon or perſons
" then in the colony may have contributed
" to increaſe.

" The Court are of opinion therefore, that
" through the arrival of the large ſupplies
" lately ſent from hence, and the continued
" care and attention of the Governor and
" Council to the intereſts of the colony, every
" material cauſe of diſſatisfaction will have
" ceaſed before the arrival of theſe reſolutions

" at Sierra Leone. As it is undoubtedly " the interests of the colonists, so the Di- " rectors trust it will also be their general " wish, to promote harmony and to discoun- " tenance all factious attempts to discredit " the Government of Sierra Leone; since on " their due obedience to government, under " the blessing of Providence, their happiness, " their liberty, and perhaps their very lives, " depend. It is on this ground that the " Directors earnestly exhort the general body " of Nova Scotians, both as freemen and " as Christians, to discourage all unreason- " able discontent, to pay respect and obe- " dience to the government: and if, contrary " to the Directors expectations, any actual " grievances should exist at the time of re- " ceiving this resolution, the Court of Di- " rectors recommend it to the Nova Scotians " temperately to represent the case to the " Governor and Council. But if they should " hereafter conceive it to be necessary to " prefer their complaints hither, that they " will, in such case, previously acquaint the " Governor and Council with the purport of " them; in order that the Court may receive " their sentiments thereupon, and may thus " have the whole of the subject at once be- " fore them."

The delegates having been made acquainted with the above resolution, a very hasty remonstrance from them was the consequence, in which they betrayed the same kind of ve-

hemence and difrefpect to the Court of Directors, which had occafionally been fhewn to the government at Sierra Leone. * After about two months further detention in England, during which it was thought proper to make them a fmall allowance for their fubfiftence, and after fome further interviews with the Directors, they fet fail, having apparently become perfectly well difpofed to the Company.

The Proprietors muft probably have been led to reflect in the courfe of the preceding Hiftory, and efpecially in confequence of the laft mentioned circumftances, how important as well as difficult a part of the Directors duty it has been, to give tolerable fatisfaction to the Nova Scotians on the one hand, and to avoid every profufe and improper application of the Company's funds on the other. And indeed the Directors have fo often had occafion to notice to the Court the trouble and expenfe which the Nova Scotians have occafioned, that fome doubt may probably have been excited, concerning the general expediency of the meafure of introducing them into the colony. A few further obfervations feem therefore neceffary to be added, in order to leave a juft impreffion both of the advan-

* It has fince appeared that the Delegates held communication with the difmiffed fervant of the Company (at this time in England) who has been already alluded to.

tages

tages and disadvantages which have resulted from the migration of this body of men to Sierra Leone.

It must be admitted that the charge which they have brought on the Company has been extremely great; the grant of provisions, which was made on the principle already mentioned, may be estimated at about twenty thousand pounds; the Company's establishment has in almost every part of it been unavoidably enlarged in proportion to the number of colonists; the Company's ships have been necessarily employed in a great measure for their use; and an expense has likewise been incurred in the distribution of the lands allotted to them: some loss has also been sustained by taking more of them into the Company's employ, than were always wanted for the public service, and by allowing them at the same time a rate of wages which, though complained of in several of their memorials to the government, was at least twice as high as that given to the natives, who nevertheless are nearly equal to the Nova Scotians in the article of common labour; though it must be confessed that the natives are totally incapable of some very necessary branches of work, with which the Nova Scotians are tolerably well acquainted.

These are the principal charges to which the Company has been subjected by the accession of this body of colonists: they are charges of which for the most part it was,

from the nature of them, impoſſible to make any juſt eſtimate before-hand, and the extent of which, on account of the unexpected number that embarked, as well as the various delays and diſappointments that happened at Sierra Leone, was certainly not foreſeen. But it ſhould be remembered, that when the Directors invited theſe ſettlers to Sierra Leone they acted neceſſarily on probabilities; they were aware that various circumſtances very difficult to be calculated might ariſe, but a prompt deciſion on their part was indiſpenſible. They thought it prudent, on the whole to make the promiſes in the declaration that has been read to the Court, and the Nova Scotians have croſſed the ſeas on the faith of having them fulfilled. The Directors however fairly avow, that, beſides a literal compliance with the ſtipulations made in Nova Scotia, they conſider themſelves alſo to be under a moral obligation not to leave the coloniſts to experience any extremities, which the Company can relieve, until it ſhall be poſſible for them to ſupport themſelves by their lands, or by ſome other means: and on this ground it is that they have never yet heſitated to ſend out to the ſettlement whatſoever goods they had reaſon to believe were ſtrictly neceſſary for its conſumption; leaving it to the diſcretion of the Governor and Council to furniſh ſuch articles, as they thought fit to the coloniſts on credit.

If

If thoſe expectations which the Directors formed, and which they think they had good reaſon to form at the time when they invited over the Nova Scotians, had been fulfilled; if the land round Freetown had been as fruitful as it was deſcribed; and the Nova Scotians had proved as manageable and as induſtrious as they were repreſented, and as they appeared for ſome ſpace of time to be; the charges would then unqueſtionably have been leſs, and the advantages on the other hand would have been much greater, than they have proved: nor can any doubt be entertained that the tranſplanting of this body of men to Sierra Leone would, in that caſe, have been a meaſure in a high degree beneficial both to themſelves, to the Company, and to Africa.

But even under all the difficulties and diſappointments which have ariſen, the advantages that have reſulted from their migration have been many and important; though they have been advantages that have accrued rather to Africa and to the coloniſts themſelves, than to the Proprietors.

A more rapid improvement in the healthineſs of the ſettlement, through the more enlarged ſize of the town, and the more extended cultivation of the ſoil, a greater facility in inducing valuable men to go out on account of the greater importance of the undertaking, a more conſiderable extenſion of the Company's reputation and influence in Africa, and a quicker progreſs in civilization, but,

 above

above all, a far greater security hereby obtained against any attack that might be dreaded either from the natives or any other enemy—all these are advantages which evidently belong to an undertaking on a larger, rather than to one on a smaller, scale; and if therefore there be no danger, lest the funds which may properly be destined to the establishment of the colony should be exhausted before it has arrived at maturity, it can hardly be denied that so powerful a body of colonists must afford a far better prospect of succeeding in the great objects of the institution.

The Directors in proceeding to lay before the Court an account of the Expenses which have been incurred, and a general state of the Company's finances, have only further to premise, that in discharging their important trust, they have endeavoured to practise that species of œconomy which is connected both with sound policy and with substantial justice. They have had a duty to fulfil to three descriptions of persons: to the Proprietors in the first place, with whose money they have been entrusted; to their servants at home and abroad, who ought to be fairly requited according to the nature of their services; and they have also been under that obligation of duty to the colonists which has been already spoken of. To reconcile these

different,

different, for they will not call them contending, claims, has been the great object of the Directors.

They will ſtate firſt the Expenſes incurred in eſtabliſhing the colony, of which, though the total can hardly fail to be tolerably correct, yet many particulars, in conſequence of the cauſes already ſtated, are taken merely from eſtimate.

EXPENSES INCURRED

IN

ESTABLISHING THE COLONY.

	£.	£.
Charges antecedent to the incorporation of the Company, conſiſting chiefly of two ſmall veſſels, ſent to explore the country with a view to a future ſettlement - - -	1200	
Charges of incorporation - -	650	
		1850
Charges of Home Eſtabliſhment, viz.		
Furniture and repairs of the Sierra Leone Houſe	450	
Houſekeeper's ſalary, coals, candles, houſe rent and taxes, and other incidental expenſes for about two years, to Chriſtmas 1793 - - - - - - -	745	
Printing, advertiſing, poſtage, books, ſtationary and counting-houſe charges, for about two years, to ditto - - -	850	
Officers and clerks ſalaries to ditto - -	1480	
		3525
Expenſe of educating and clothing natives ſent to England, and their paſſages, about -	...	500
Charges of the Eſtabliſhment at Sierra Leone, viz.		
Temporary allowance of proviſions to all the Company's ſervants, and expenſe of the table of the governor, botaniſt, and mineralogiſt, &c. eſtimated at - - -	3250	
Paſſage of ſervants and artificers out and home, eſtimated at - - - - -	5000	
Their travelling expenſes and other charges in England - - - -	380	
Amount of ſalaries to Sierra Leone ſervants for about two years, to Chriſtmas 1793 -	7500	
		16130
Carried forward		£.22005

	£.	£.
Brought forward		22005
Incidental expenses in the Colony, viz.		
Medicines, surgical instruments, books and stationary, &c. - - - - -	1630	
Equipment of botanist and mineralogist -	400	
Presents to chiefs, expense of palavers, and various other incidental charges - -	1500	
		3530
Expense of the Outfit and Maintenance of such part of the Company's SHIPPING, as was employed for the protection and accommodation of the colony, and in collecting provisions and live stock on the coast, about - - -		17840
Expense of Provisions granted to the colonists before they were put into possession of their lands, estimated at - - - - -		20000
Sundry Losses and Gratuities in England, consisting chiefly of sums advanced to the Company's servants, which were not recovered through their dying or retiring from the service, and of gratuities paid according to the terms of the Company's engagement to the near relations of the deceased - - - - - -		1245
SUPPOSED EXPENSE in ESTABLISHING the COLONY - - - - -		64620
To which is to be added the loss sustained by the burning of the ship York, estimated at - - -	15000	
And other losses by robbery, damage through exposure to the climate, and articles that proved unserviceable -	3000	
		18000
SUPPOSED EXPENSE of ESTABLISHING the COLONY, the LOSS INCLUDED -		£. 82620

The CAPITAL STOCK of the Company is	235280
The interest received thereon is -	7619
Making together - - - -	242899
From which if the above sum of -	82620 be taken,
There remains - - - -	£. 160279 to be

accounted for, which is done in the following manner:

DEAD STOCK at SIERRA LEONE, which, though ſtated as part of the remaining effects of the Company, is nevertheleſs not to be conſidered as convertible into money, nor as bearing a value by any means equal to the ſum which it has coſt, conſiſting of buildings, lands, and fortifications, &c. at Sierra Leone.

Buildings belonging to the Company, viz.

	£.	£.
Coſt at Sierra Leone of a church, warehouſe, range of ſhops, two hoſpitals, two dwelling-houſes, and four canvas houſes, ſent from England, about - - -	3930	
Coſt at Sierra Leone of various materials for finiſhing the buildings belonging to the Company, viz. bricks, tiles, lime, ſcantling, and deals, about - -	4500	
Coſt of putting together the buildings ſent out, and of the erection of other buildings for the uſe of the Company's ſervants, about - - - -	3300	
Expended in improving the landing-place, making a wharf, roads, and ſundry public works, about - - -	3000	
A large crane, fire engines, &c. -	705	
Furniture for the uſe of the governor, phyſician, and chaplain - - -	500	
		15935

Lands, viz.

Expended in purchaſe of lands at Sierra Leone and in cultivation on the Company's account - - - - -	1750	
In the allotment of lands to the Nova Scotians, on which a rent is reſerved to the Company, about - - - -	2500	4250

Articles for the defence of the colony, viz.

Expended in arms, ammunition, and other articles - - -	2500	
In labour and conſtruction of works of defence -	2000	
about		4500
Total Dead Stock -		£. 24685

		£.	£.
Capital in Trade, viz.			
African produce in England, estimated at -		1000	24685
Cargoes of three vessels now on their passage out - -	£.16900	6500	
Deduct for goods not paid for	10400		
Goods at Sierra Leone, or on board the Company's vessels on the coast - -		7900	
Value of dollars in the colony, about -		1000	
Debts due from the colonists to the Company much the greater part of which is expected to be recovered, about - -		2000	
Present estimated value of the Company's Shipping - - - -			
Total Capital now invested in trade -			

Property belonging to the Company placed at interest, &c. or invested in public securities, viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.
Placed at interest in the hands of the Royal Bank of Scotland -	39000	0	0				
At Messrs. Barnett and Co's. the bankers, &c.	151	10	9				
				39151	10	9	
Invested in 4 per cent. consolidated Bank Annuities	15140	0	0				
In India bills and bonds	23168	12	8				
In Navy and victualling bills - -	30733	16	7				
				69042	9	3	
Total property at interest and in public securities - -							108194

TOTAL REMAINING EFFECTS of the COMPANY, the DEAD STOCK at SIERRA LEONE included, on the 1st of March, 1793 - - - -	£. 160279

THE Directors have thus ſtated, as correctly as they are able, the whole expenditure that has taken place, and the ſituation of the funds of the Company; but they cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without obſerving, that they conſider the expenſes of which they have been giving the account as extremely great, and as very far exceeding every idea which the Proprietors can be ſuppoſed originally to have formed of their probable extent. The extraordinary magnitude of them has been owing to a variety of unforeſeen circumſtances, which, though already touched upon in the preceding narrative, the Directors will ſhortly recapitulate. They appear principally to be the following:

Firſt, the inefficiency of the original body of counſellors, who gave occaſion to great irregularity in the outſet of the colony, and it is to be feared alſo, to much prodigality and waſte.

Secondly, the ſickneſs and mortality of the firſt rainy ſeaſon, which not only ſuſpended for a time almoſt all the induſtry of the colony, but likewiſe tended to aggravate, in various ways, ſeveral chief heads of expenſe.

Thirdly, the unproductiveneſs of the land adjoining the town, which by diminiſhing the means of preſent ſupport to the coloniſts, has neceſſarily thrown an increaſed weight of expenſe upon the Company.

Fourthly, the burning of the York, a miſfortune

fortune of the firſt magnitude, if conſidered in a pecuniary light.

Fifthly: one further circumſtance remains to be mentioned, namely, the breaking out of the war; an event, which beſides putting the Company to the expenſe of furniſhing additional protection to the ſettlement, has raiſed the coſt of the European articles carried thither to a conſiderable degree; which has therefore increaſed the expenſe of living at Sierra Leone, has tended to prevent the decreaſe that might have been looked for in the price of labour, and has thus enhanced the charge of proſecuting thoſe public works in which the Company, at a more early period, thought proper to engage. The Directors might alſo notice a number of other diſadvantages to which the Company has been ſubjected by the war; ſuch as the long detention which it has occaſioned to ſome of their veſſels, and the difficulty and expenſe of procuring and maintaining ſailors: the uncertainty which the war has cauſed in the tranſmiſſion of intelligence, may alſo be ſtated both as a pecuniary diſadvantage and a very material inconvenience.

Having thus enumerated the principal unforeſeen cauſes whereby the charges of eſtabliſhing the colony have been aggravated, the Directors wiſh to notice two particular heads of expenſe in the preceding account, which have exceeded their expectation very

conſiderably

confiderably indeed: they allude to the charge of £20,000 for provifions, and that of £17,840 for maintenance of fuch part of the Company's fhipping, as has been applied to the protection and ufe of the colony.

The Directors have the fatisfaction of obferving, that of thefe two chief heads of charge, the former has now entirely, and the latter has very nearly, ceafed; and they wifh to inform the General Court, that they are ufing their beft endeavours to put a period in like manner to all expenfes, except thofe which either fall under the head of Trade, and Cultivation on the Company's own account, or belong to the annual eftablifhment. They truft indeed that the reduction of expenfes which they have been aiming at, is now nearly effected; and that while the chief difficulties of the colony are fubfiding on the one hand, the Company's burthen in fupporting it is ceafing alfo on the other.

On the whole, when the Directors review what is paft, they are ready to own that they fee fome things, which, if poffeffed of more experience, they might have conducted in a more frugal or advantageous manner; they however perceive many of the untoward circumftances which have arifen, to have been fuch as human forefight could not have anticipated, nor human wifdom have controlled:

they

they can alſo look back upon many eſcapes and deliverances which the colony has experienced, not through any care or management of thoſe whom the Proprietors have appointed to ſuperintend it, but through that help of Providence alone, which has hitherto protected it.—When they look forward, they are led, from their own paſt experience, to expect ſome further difficulties and dangers, not now poſſible to be diſtinctly ſpoken of or provided againſt: and they are aware alſo that the beginning of colonization has been in general arduous, hazardous, and expenſive; far more ſo than the minds of thoſe who firſt engaged in ſuch undertakings have been diſpoſed to believe. The Directors therefore by no means allow themſelves to indulge any expectations of rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs, yet they are induced, by the gradual advances towards maturity which the colony has already made in the midſt of many difficulties, to entertain an increaſing hope of its eſtabliſhment and future proſperity; and they feel for their own part very ſufficient encouragement ſteadily and cheerfully to perſevere. They are conſcious however, that after all the attention due to ſuch an undertaking has been given to it, they muſt leave the event to the Supreme Diſpoſal of Him, who can either diſappoint utterly, if he pleaſes, the moſt favourite ſchemes of men; can obſtruct and ſuſpend for a while their accompliſhment; or can crown them, if he

ſees fit, with the moſt ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs.

They will proceed now to ſpeak of the ſeveral heads of which they gave notice that they ſhould treat particularly, in the introduction to this Report.

HEALTH.

HEALTH.

THE Directors have already mentioned the causes to which they are persuaded that the mortality in the first rainy season at Sierra Leone ought to be ascribed; but their observations on this subject will be very much illustrated and confirmed by the statement of some particulars respecting it.

The upper servants of the Company who went out in the first year, were twenty-six in number; these consisted of eight counsellors, a chaplain, several medical persons, a secretary, accountant, and some others, who were all well accommodated: no more than four of this class in that year died, and of these four deaths only two can properly be charged to the climate.

Of lower servants, such as clerks in the store-house, overseers, a gardener, baker, and several artificers, there went out fifty-nine persons, their families being included, of whom no less than twenty-nine died; many of these were often exposed to the rains, and several of them were intemperate; they were also in general uncomfortably lodged, and, in consequence of the sickness prevailing among the surgeons, they could have but a small share of the medical attendance.

Of settlers there went out, including their

families, eighteen, of whom no lefs than thirteen died; fome of thefe were much addicted to liquor, and their fituation was in every refpect worfe than that of the laft mentioned clafs.

Of foldiers there went out fixteen, who were almoft univerfally intemperate: when it is alfo confidered how they muft have been circumftanced in other refpects, it cannot excite much furprife that fo many as eleven of thefe fhould have died.

In all there went out in the firft year, one hundred and nineteen white perfons, of whom fifty-feven died.

In the fecond year, all the foldiers and fettlers, as well as the families of the lower whites, having either died or returned to England, the whites refident in the colony were reduced to about forty, of whom only four or five have died.

The Directors do not include in this account any deaths among the officers and crews of the Company's fhips, becaufe, as they were not always ftationed at Sierra Leone, the queftion of the healthinefs or unhealthinefs of the colony is not much affected by the degree of mortality among them; nor has any complete return on this fubject as yet reached England. The Directors are led to judge however, from the information which has been received from the greater part of their fhips, that between twenty and thirty white failors may have died on board of all their veffels in

the

the ſpace of two years: the whole number of ſailors in their ſervice has ſeldom exceeded one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty, and the mortality may perhaps therefore be fairly computed at about *ſeven* or *eight* per cent. per annum.*

The mortality among the Nova Scotians has been as follows. The number of thoſe that landed in the year 1792 was eleven hundred and thirty-one, many of them being very ill through the remains of a fever which appears to have been fatal to a few of their original body in Nova Scotia, and to have carried off ſixty-five of them during the paſſage: of theſe eleven hundred and thirty-one perſons thus landed, forty died within a few weeks after they reached Sierra Leone, evidently in conſequence of the ſame fever: the whole body then became extremely healthy, but when the rainy ſeaſon was ſet in, an almoſt univerſal ſickneſs prevailed, of which ninety-eight Nova Scotians died, which was nearly one-tenth of their whole number.

In the ſecond rainy ſeaſon, although ſome return of ſickneſs has been experienced, yet

* It appears from the evidence of the ſubſtance of the muſter rolls from Liverpool and Briſtol, given in to his Majeſty's privy counſel, and inſerted in their lordſhip's printed report, that the mortality among the ſailors during one voyage in the Slave Trade, is about *twenty-one* per cent. eight hundred and fifty-eight ſailors having died out of four thouſand and eighty, who formed the crews of one hundred and twelve ſhips.

the deaths among the Nova Scotians have been very few indeed. The account which the Directors have received does not extend to the whole year, but it appears that not more than five of them have died during three of the most unhealthy months.

The following is an extract from a report of the Company's physician, written in the most unfavourable period of the last rainy season, being dated the 14th of October, 1793.

" Although the degree of sickness since " the commencement of the present year has " been upon the whole comparatively small, " and the loss sustained by deaths trifling, yet " those months which have elapsed since the " beginning of the rains have proved more " sickly than all the preceding. The Nova " Scotians have experienced during the rains " a considerable share of sickness, but in " general the complaints were trifling. They " appear now to be so well accustomed to " the climate, that there is little reason to " apprehend any great mortality among them. " There are but few who still suffer from the " effects of last year's sickness, or whose " health is precarious. Few places perhaps " in England, of the same size, can shew a " greater number of fine healthy looking " children than are daily to be seen in our " schools; the heat of the climate appears to " have little effect upon them.—During this " period fevers have been pretty frequent " among the whites; I have every reason

" to hope the ſick liſt is on the decreaſe, and " I flatter myſelf they will all be rèſtored " to health. One very unfavourable circum- " ſtance has attended our ſick this year, the " want of flour; it being ſeriouſly felt by " thoſe in health, much more ſo by the ſick."

The ſubſequent diſpatches of the 26th December, 1793, give a much more favourable account of the health of the colony at that time, and mention the mortality of that whole year to have been as already ſtated to the Court.

The Directors think it proper here to add a remark that chiefly regards themſelves, concerning that vaſt mortality among the whites which happened in the firſt year. The Proprietors muſt have obſerved that the greateſt proportion of deaths was among the ſettlers, the ſoldiers, the lower ſervants, and artificers. It affords the Directors no ſmall ſatisfaction to reflect, that inſtead of urging any of theſe to adventure out, they refuſed to engage many perſons of each of theſe three deſcriptions, whom they were earneſtly ſolicited to ſend, and were with difficulty prevailed on to carry out thoſe who went.

The unwillingneſs of the Directors to take out that claſs among whom the mortality was the greateſt, namely, the European ſettlers, gave umbrage to ſeveral perſons who were very eager to become African coloniſts, and in

 part

part perhaps gave occaſion to the inſtitution of the Bulam Company.

Their indiſpoſition to enlarge the number of ſoldiers, among whom, next to the ſettlers, the mortality was the greateſt, occaſioned the reſignation of one or two of their chief ſervants, and at the ſame time drew a ſtrong remonſtrance from ſeveral gentlemen, who were purpoſing to adventure out. The Directors were alſo ſo much aware of the various evils which might reſult from the maintenance even of their ſmall military eſtabliſhment, that they wrote to recall all the ſoldiers as ſoon as the peaceableneſs of the natives was aſcertained, but the order arrived too late.

They were ſo ſenſible alſo of the danger to which the artificers and their families, who formed a material part of the third claſs, were expoſed, (moſt of whom through an accident at ſea were likely not to arrive till the eve of the rainy ſeaſon) that they offered to diſcharge a great part of them in England, not only indemnifying them for their loſs of time, but adding alſo ſome gratuity; a few accepted the offer, but a great part, including almoſt all thoſe who had families, were bent on the proſecution of the voyage.

The Directors have mentioned theſe minute circumſtances, for the ſake of letting it appear that they have been far from eager, on their part, in preſſing thoſe to go to Sierra Leone who have run the greateſt riſk of their lives in adventuring thither, and for the ſake

of

of pointing out alſo the extreme danger to which thoſe perſons are expoſed on their arrival in a tropical climate, who are either unprovided with the means of comfortable accommodation and ſubſiſtence, or who are likely to fall into any habits of intemperance; for the above detail will ſhew that theſe are the two principal cauſes to which the extraordinary mortality is evidently to be traced.

The Directors having thus endeavoured to give an exact and impartial account of thoſe circumſtances and events in the colony which relate to the ſubject of Health, are deſirous of leaving its character in this reſpect to reſt on the ſimple evidence of the abovementioned facts; they will only add, that they are not aware of any reaſons why the climate of Sierra Leone ſhould prove eventually inferior to that of many ſettlements between the tropics, in different quarters of the world, of which the healthineſs is now undiſputed; for ſome of theſe have been much more unfavourable to the health of the firſt ſettlers than Sierra Leone has yet proved: it ſeems therefore very reaſonable to expect, that in proportion as cultivation advances, and all the accommodations of life improve, the ſame gradual amendment will take place in the healthineſs of this colony, which has been experienced in other caſes.

TRADE.

IN ſpeaking of the Trade of the Company, the Directors have rather to mention the orders given and the ſteps taken, with a view to its inſtitution, than to report much actual progreſs.

They ſent out a moderate aſſortment of goods for trade by the very firſt ſhips, but though this was done in conſequence of the advice of the commercial agent himſelf, who took charge of them and who was well acquainted with the coaſt, yet no effort to diſpoſe of them was made during his continuance in their ſervice. The chief part of theſe articles conſequently remained on ſhip-board during the rains; even many of thoſe intended for immediate uſe in the colony were not delivered out of the veſſels till after this period, and it is to be feared, that through the miſconduct of this perſon, as well as the inefficiency of the Council and the conſequent confuſion in the colony which has been ſtated, while many individuals were loſing their lives on the one hand, no ſmall part of the Company's property was diſſipated on the other.

The irregularity that prevailed in the commercial department, was much aggravated by the illneſs of almoſt all the perſons employed in

in it. The ſickneſs of the chief ſtorekeeper was ſuch that he was obliged to return to England; the chief accountant died; the chief commercial agent, who has been already ſpoken of, died alſo, without having rendered up any regular accounts; ſeveral inferior ſtorekeepers, as has been mentioned under the preceding head, fell victims to the ſevere duty which the difficulties of this period impoſed on them; and the perſons who, through the neceſſity of the caſe, were appointed on the ſpot to fill the vacancies, were little uſed to book-keeping; one perſon alone remained (the preſent book-keeper) who was properly acquainted with mercantile buſineſs.

Thus it has happened, that the Directors, who thought they had done every thing that depended on them to ſecure punctuality in accounts, from the very inſtitution of the colony, have found themſelves entirely deprived of the proper means of examining into the expenditure and application of all the firſt cargoes; and they are ſorry to add, that although one of the Members of Council applied himſelf, for a conſiderable time, to the eſtabliſhment of a proper ſyſtem of book-keeping, yet his efforts alſo have been rendered abortive through the burning of the York, whereby all the moſt material books of the colony were deſtroyed.

The Court will not wonder that the Directors were ſlow in ſending out articles for

trade at a time when ſo much confuſion was known to prevail in the colony, and when the commercial ſervants, who had died or returned to England, were not yet replaced. The Company's preſent commercial agent however carried out a large aſſortment ſuited to the African market, a great part of which was immediately diſtributed on board the Company's ſmall veſſels, which went with them down the coaſt; the remainder, as has been ſtated, were unfortunately deſtroyed on board the York.

In order to give a more complete idea of the commercial plans of the Directors, it may be proper here to mention the number of veſſels of every kind belonging to the Company, and the ſervices in which they are employed. They have one ſhip, the Harpy, of 380 tons burthen; another, the Amy, of 200 tons; and ten veſſels of 35 to 120 tons. The York, of 850 tons, having been deſtroyed, one of the two larger ſhips is for a time likely to be uſed in her ſtead as a ſtore ſhip, while the other of them may carry goods to and from Sierra Leone; all the ſmaller veſſels being chiefly engaged in collecting produce on the African coaſt, which they are ordered to convey to the colony as the place of depoſit.

The Court, in the outſet of their undertaking, were led from various cauſes to purchaſe rather than to charter the veſſels which carried

ried out goods for Sierra Leone: but the vast expense which has been found to attend their larger ships, has disinclined them from making any further purchases of this sort.

It should be observed, that the chief part of those heavy expenses which have been hitherto incurred in the maintenance of the shipping, and which have been much enhanced by the war, though mentioned under this head, have been stated in the account as a charge on the Establishment of the colony, and not on the Trade of the Company. The Directors however have the satisfaction of knowing, that every one of their smaller vessels has been for some time employed in trading expeditions, and that of their two large ships, one is now engaged in trade, and the other is made use of at Sierra Leone both as a receptacle for goods and a protection to the colony.

The Governor and Council have thought proper, as a subsidiary means of securing a considerable quantity of produce, to establish a few small factories, chiefly in the neighbouring rivers, which has been done at a trifling expense. The French slave factory at Gambia, which commanded one branch of the river Sierra Leone, being situated a few miles above Freetown, has recently been relinquished. Other openings of various kinds have arisen, the particulars of which the Directors will not be expected to detail; and though no more than a small quantity of African produce,

produce, amounting to a few thouſand pounds, has, for the reaſons already mentioned, as yet reached England; yet in no reſpect do the Governor and Council ſtate the proſpects of the Company to have more conſiderably improved, than in the openings in the way of Trade which have appeared in the laſt year; and eſpecially in the latter part of it, when the general declenſion of the African commerce, through the failure of mercantile credit in England, was very obſervable on the coaſt.

The Directors muſt here remark, however, that they look forward to the period of the abolition of the Slave Trade, as the great æra when a conſiderable commerce in African produce may be expected to commence. When the Africans, who have been long habituated to European articles, ſhall find that nothing will be taken in return but the produce of their land and labour, then this produce muſt unqueſtionably increaſe. They already ſhew a diſpoſition to till the ſoil, if adequate encouragement be given them, as the facts which will be cited under the head of Cultivation will ſufficiently evince: and as ſoon as the Slave Trade ſhall fail them, there is therefore the ſtrongeſt reaſon to hope that cultivation will immediately proceed; and it is not unnatural to ſuppoſe that thoſe articles may be raiſed, and thoſe plans of induſtry adopted, of which the banks of the river Sierra Leone will have ſet the example.

The

The Directors are not without hope that if any measure should be taken by the British parliament, even for the limitation of the Slave Trade, it may have some salutary effect in promoting African industry, increasing the produce to be collected, and thus serving the Company. As yet they labour under disadvantages, which they trust will not always be imposed on those who refuse to unite a traffic in their fellow creatures with a trade in natural produce: they also willingly suffer some present loss by furnishing articles rather superior in quality, and somewhat different in kind, from those commonly sent to Africa; and in many respects they have endeavoured to purify the principles of the African Trade, which they have found in general to be dreadfully corrupt. In particular they have restrained, and in some cases abolished, though not without a temporary inconvenience, the custom of making large presents of rum to the chiefs connected with them. They trust also they have gone to the root of another evil, by introducing a considerable quantity of coin into the colony, and thus substituting the plain and certain medium of dollars in place of the former one of bars;* which having been a medium of calculation that was extremely variable and confused, and merely nominal, has occasioned much

* The word *bar* implied originally a bar of iron, which was one of the most common articles of commerce, and might be worth about three shillings sterling.

trouble and diſpute, and given the opportunity of practiſing perpetual frauds in the African commerce.

The Directors have reaſon on the whole to hope, that they have acquired ſome credit in Africa, not only by the general principles of their undertaking, but by the approved quality of their goods alſo, as well as by the fairneſs of their ſervants in all their commercial tranſactions; and however ſlow they may have appeared in their progreſs, they truſt therefore that they have laid ſome foundation, on which a commercial intercourſe may advantageouſly proceed.

CULTIVATION.

THE ſubject of Cultivation may be divided into two heads, that on the Company's own account, and that produced, or likely to be produced, either on the lands of the Nova Scotians or among the natives themſelves.

It was a part of the original plan of the Directors, to ſet on foot as ſoon as poſſible two or three plantations on their own account, and they accordingly ſent out three managers (or planters) and ſeveral overſeers uſed to tropical cultivation. The diſtreſſes of the colony during the firſt rainy ſeaſon induced one of the planters to quit the place, an opportunity being afforded him of returning to the West indies; many of the overſeers died; of the two planters that remained, one was employed for a time in preparing a cotton plantation near Freetown, but as he has returned to England, and as the land in queſtion has been much wanted for other purpoſes, this undertaking is ſuſpended for the preſent; and a few of thoſe Nova Scotians whoſe lots of land proved particularly barren, have now the temporary uſe of this fruitful ſpot, from which crops of various articles uſeful to the colony have been raiſed.

Of

Of the other plantation undertaken on the Company's account, which is ſtill ſucceſsfully proceeding under the management of the remaining planter, who went out by one of the firſt ſhips, the Directors propoſe to ſpeak very particularly; ſince they believe that this is the firſt experiment of the kind which has been made in Africa, and that a minute account of its progreſs may ſerve to throw conſiderable light on the queſtion, whether it be practicable to cultivate the lands of that continent by means of the free labour of its own inhabitants.

When it was found that the ſoil around Freetown was not ſo favourable to cultivation as was expected, the planter who has been laſt alluded to,* with the ſame laudable and ardent zeal which has ever ſince diſtinguiſhed him, made many ſucceſſive expeditions both down the coaſt, along the river ſide, and into the interior country, with a view of learning the quality of the ſoil in all the more diſtant parts. He reported that he had found extremely good land on the other ſide of the river; offered, if any purchaſe of it could be made, to ſettle himſelf there among the natives, and to attempt, with their help alone, a regular plantation. A mile ſquare of land was obtained without difficulty from the chief of that diſtrict, in conſideration of an annual rent equal to £. 16; and about

* Mr. James Watt, formerly manager of the Eſtate of George Roſe, Eſq. M. P. in Dominica.

thirty

thirty grumettas, or free native labourers, were got together by his affiftance. The firft work to which they were put was that of building a houfe for the manager; they were next employed in cutting down the wood, which entirely covered the country; and they procedeed then to hoe the ground, and to plant it with fugar cane, cotton, rice, and other vegetables. The terms of engaging them were four or five bars a month, but as the valuing of the bars proved a fource of fome altercation, the price of three dollars a month, or about 3s. 6d. a week, is now fubftituted: the labourers are alfo found with provifions, which confift of about a pint and a half of rice, together with two or three ounces of meat a piece, each day. They are called to work by the blowing of a horn, which is heard through the fmall neighbouring towns in which they refide; and if they are on the fpot, as they ufually are, at the precife time expected which is that of fun rife, they are then accuftomed to receive a fmall glafs of rum, which it is intended however to commute into fome trifling pecuniary allowance. They work under the immediate eye of one of the better fort of natives, while the planter directs their general operations, fees them often from his window, and walks occafionally amongft them. They go to their dinner (which is dreffed for them in the manager's houfe, and is the only meal they take during their day's work) at eleven o'clock, and they return at one.

They

They work till ſun-ſet and then receive another ſmall glaſs of ſpirits, but they drink water only at their meal. Their labour is thought equal to about two-thirds of a common day's work in this country, and it is tolerably ſteady, although they ſhew no great exertion in it. Above a year has now elapſed with little variation, either in the number of the labourers or in the regularity of their work, except in the inſtance of their abſenting themſelves for a few weeks at the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, in order to work at the plantations about their own towns; and it is thought that means may be taken for preventing even this interruption for the future.

It is material to take ſome notice of the manner in which their wages are ſpent: when they have received their pay, which they always claim on the day after the appearance of the new moon, they ſend over to Free-town to *ſell* the dollars as they term it; the articles taken in return are for the moſt part clothing or houſehold utenſils; for it does not appear that thoſe gains which the natives acquire by regular induſtry, are commonly applied to any pernicious uſe. The labourers who work in the Company's plantation may now be diſtinguiſhed from moſt of the other natives, by ſome additional articles in their dreſs; they wear a hat and a jacket, which the others in general do not; and they have trowſers of a better quality, being evidently

diſpoſed

diſpoſed to copy after the Europeans; though it is only a ſmall part of their clothing, and ſtill leſs of their houſehold furniture and mode of living, that they have as yet adopted. They are taught to abſtain from work on Sundays, when they attend a Nova Scotia preacher now reſident among them, who acts alſo during the week as ſchool-maſter to ſeveral native children.

The land which they put in cultivation the firſt year was not conſiderable, having been only about fifteen acres, of which about twelve acres were planted with alternate rows of rice and cotton. A nurſery of ſugar canes has been alſo ſet on foot, and is, on the whole, advancing; but the ants (or bugabugs) have done much damage among them. It is ſuppoſed however that this obſtacle to the growth of the ſugar cane, will be removed, as ſoon as the roots of the trees which have been cut down ſhall have rotted away; ſince the ants are ſaid to derive conſiderable ſupport from them.

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that although ſome little differences may have occaſionally ariſen between the manager and the natives engaged with him, yet on the whole the Company's proſpects have much improved in that part, and many proofs have been given of the great advances that may be made in Civilization, if the preſent object ſhould be ſteadily purſued, and

 eſpecially

eſpecially if means ſhould be found of conſiderably extending the ſame ſyſtem.

It has lately been diſcovered, that ſeveral towns adjacent to the Company's plantation are very much increaſed, not only by the acceſſion of thoſe natives who work for the Company, but alſo of many others. It appears alſo that the natives are more diſpoſed in general to migrate towards the ſides of the river, which heretofore have been very little peopled: a ſenſe of the ſecurity of their perſons more and more prevails, and they are leſs averſe to let the buſh around their towns be cut down; which, familiariſed as they have been with the idea of being ſurpriſed and carried into ſlavery, they were accuſtomed always to ſpeak of as a convenient ſhelter. The difficulty indeed of landing on the Bulam ſide of the river, by leſſening the intercourſe with Europeans, has cauſed a very viſible difference in the character of the natives of that diſtrict: they are leſs violent and leſs addicted to liquor than their oppoſite neighbours, and they alſo live more by their induſtry. They are in general diſpoſed to enter into the views of the government of Sierra Leone, and ſeem very little inclined to believe thoſe ſlave-traders, who tell them that the Company has injurious deſigns againſt them; and one of their chief men makes it his profeſſed principle neither to ſell nor to keep a ſlave. A ſecond plantation appears now to be deſired by them, and their King

has

has lately ceded another ſquare mile of land for that purpoſe.

The Directors have further to mention under the head of Cultivation on the Company's own account, a ſmall garden of experiment in the neighbourhood of Freetown, which is under the care of an able botaniſt. A variety of native plants and ſeeds has been collected from time to time, which are cultivated there with great attention; and it is hoped that ſome future benefit, either to the Company or colony, as well as ſome uſeful acceſſion of botanical knowledge, may reſult from the labours of this gentleman.* The Court of Directors have ſucceeded in obtaining ſeveral valuable articles of tropical cultivation, through his Majeſty's permiſſion, from the royal gardens at Kew, and particularly the bread-fruit tree, which will form a very important addition to the Company's collection.

In ſpeaking of the cultivation that has taken place ſince the inſtitution of the colony, through the labour that has been exerted by the Nova Scotians, or the natives on their own account, the Directors are not yet able to report any conſiderable progreſs. A great

* The Directors have introduced by way of Appendix, an account of the Natural Productions of Sierra Leone, furniſhed by Mr. Afzelius, their Botaniſt.

 part

part of the attention and induſtry of the coloniſts has been applied to the building of the town, of which it may not be improper in this place to enter into ſome deſcription.

It is ſituated on a dry and rather elevated ſpot, on the ſouth-ſide of Sierra Leone river, and it occupies between ſeventy and eighty acres of land; its length being about one-third of a mile, and its breadth nearly the ſame. It contains near four hundred houſes, each houſe having one-twelfth of an acre of ground annexed to it, on which a few vegetables are raiſed. The ſtreets run, in general, from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, there being nine in this direction, and three croſs ſtreets; and they are eighty feet wide, one only excepted, which runs within fifty feet of the river ſide, and of which the width is one hundred and ſixty feet. The public buildings are almoſt all placed in the broad ſtreet, and they conſiſt of a church, ſituated near the middle of the town, which will accommodate about eight hundred people; the governor's houſe and offices; a large ſtore-houſe, under which as well as under the governor's houſe a brick ſtore-cellar has been built; a large hoſpital; and ſix or eight other wooden houſes, offices, and ſhops, occupied by the Company's ſervants: the frames of all the abovementioned buildings were ſent out from England. Four canvas houſes, or rather rooms, have been alſo furniſhed from hence, and one public building has been
erected

erected of the common materials of the country, but this is already going to decay as well as the canvas houses; while all the other buildings, having been erected with care and framed of wood prepared in England, appear likely to last for some years.

The dwelling-houses of the settlers, which constitute the chief part of the town, were at first inferior even to the common huts of the natives, but are now far superior to them in every respect; a few of them have been repaired and enlarged, but the greater part have been pulled down (their general scite having been changed by the government), and are now completely rebuilt. Indeed the first huts were intended by the Nova Scotians to be only temporary dwellings, and were made with very little trouble of the common materials of the country, consisting merely of a few posts let into the ground, the intervals between which were then wattled and plaistered with clay, and the thatching was of long grass; the size of these may have been on the average about eighteen feet by twelve, and the value of the labour bestowed on each about forty shillings.

The present houses of the settlers are formed, both as to the sides and flooring (for they are all of them floored), of suitable timber cut and framed in the country, and they are secured from damp by being raised one or two feet from the ground by means of stones or blocks of wood: a number of them are

already covered with either boards or ſhingles, and it is intended to finiſh them all in this manner; but the greater part are thatched with graſs for the preſent. Only a very few of them have chimneys, but it is common nevertheleſs to burn a fire in one of the rooms during the rainy ſeaſon, the ſmoke either finding its way through the thatching or paſſing out by the door and windows. The preſent houſes are in general from twenty to thirty feet long, and from twelve to fifteen feet wide, and they are in moſt caſes divided into two rooms. The average value of the whole labour beſtowed on each, including the materials, may be eſtimated at about ten pounds.

Of the land immediately adjoining to the town, care has been taken to reſerve a portion to the Company on every ſide. All this reſerved land, without including any of the remote parts directly ſouth, on which ſide the reſerved land has no other boundary than that preſcribed in the grant of land originally made by the natives, may be computed at about two hundred acres; part of which is the ground already ſpoken of that was intended for a cotton plantation, but is now occupied by the Nova Scotians. Only a ſmall proportion of theſe two hundred acres is in actual cultivation, but the whole of it is cleared. The healthineſs of the ſettlement has undoubtedly been much promoted by the early meaſures that were taken to clear this

ſurrounding

ſurrounding diſtrict; and the prudent reſervation of it that has been made, may hereafter conduce to many important ends, and in particular it may afford the means of enlarging the town if there ſhould be occaſion.

The lots of land which have been given to the Nova Scotians lie towards the ſouth-eaſt of Freetown, all the weſtern diſtrict being in the poſſeſſion of the natives, and the ſouthern ſide being thought too mountainous and difficult of acceſs to be uſed at preſent for cultivation. The neareſt of the lots is about a third of a mile from the town, and the moſt diſtant about two miles and a quarter; they occupy in all about four ſquare miles, or two thouſand five hundred and ſixty acres, and they are each of them now rendered acceſſible by a path of ten feet broad, which has been cut with great labour and expenſe: only a few lots however, which are ſituated near the town, have as yet been in any meaſure cleared or cultivated.

In order to excite a ſpirit of emulation in tilling the ſoil, premiums were given in the firſt year by the government to the ſettlers who raiſed the greateſt quantity of the following articles, viz. rice, yams, plantains, eddows, cabbages, Indian corn, and cotton; the whole amount of theſe premiums was about one hundred pounds. This meaſure appears to have had ſo good an effect, that there is an intention of repeating it in the ſecond ſeaſon, making a few variations in the

manner of executing it, which the experience of the first year has suggested.

Concerning the progress of Cultivation among the natives, it is hardly to be expected that there is much as yet to be reported to the Court: indeed the size of their plantations has commonly varied so exceedingly from year to year, that any appearance of increased industry among them, during a single season, ought not too confidently to be ascribed either to the new demand occasioned by the colonists of Sierra Leone, or to the Company's influence and example. The price of rice, the chief article of cultivation on the coast, has been at some times forty shillings per ton, and at others no less than twenty-five or even thirty pounds. This variation is owing partly no doubt to the difference in the seasons, but may reasonably be ascribed, in a very great degree, to the difficulty which the Africans find in forming any proper computation of the demand which is likely to arise for their produce; a plentiful year sometimes betraying them into a general neglect of their plantations, and a scarce year seldom failing, on the other hand, to produce a superfluous cultivation in the year immediately succeeding.

The establishment of a commercial factory on the coast, whose business it may be to form regular contracts with the natives, as well as to observe the general extent of the

cultivation, and to make purchaſes with a view to the exportation of the ſurplus produce, may tend perhaps to excite a more regular induſtry, and to bring about, though at firſt ſlowly and imperceptibly, very important and extenſive conſequences.

CIVILIZATION.

CIVILIZATION.

UNDER this head of the Report, the Directors will introduce a confiderable body of information. They will fpeak firft of the mode of government exercifed in the fettlement; and they will then give the character of the fettlers; they will afterwards enter upon the general fubject of Civilization; in doing which they will defcribe the miferable ftate to which it appears, from the teftimonies afforded at Sierra Leone, that the natives of Africa have been reduced, through their intercourfe with Europeans; and the Directors will conclude with an account of the fteps which have been taken by the Sierra Leone Company to introduce Chriftianity and Civilization among the Africans, of whofe capacity and difpofition to receive inftruction fome very fatisfactory information will be given.

The Directors have as yet received no exprefs powers from parliament for adminiftering the government of Sierra Leone: they have confidered, as they were bound to do, that the Britifh conftitution, as far as it is applicable to the circumftances of the place, is of courfe transferred thither, and that the blacks

and

and whites living in the colony have an equal right to the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects.

Trial by Jury has been eſtabliſhed, and the Nova Scotia blacks, though poſſeſſing very little knowledge of the Britiſh laws, have acted as jurymen, one of the Company's chief ſervants always preſiding as the judge. The puniſhments inflicted have been mild, conſiſting rather in fines than in corporal puniſhment: the verdicts have been in general very juſt, and, on the whole, the Nova Scotians have ſerved on the juries in a manner that ſufficiently proves the propriety and prudence of extending to them a privilege which they ſo much value. It may be preſumed alſo, that the gradual acquaintance with the principles of Engliſh law, which the Nova Scotians gain in the periodical ſeſſions of the peace, may be of uſe in improving their minds, and may operate as a general help towards Civilization.

The defence of the colony from external enemies is neceſſarily entruſted to the body of Nova Scotians alſo. Their arms are always ready; and though their courage has not been put to any actual trial, ſince they came to Sierra Leone, yet their alacrity in coming forward in a moment of ſuppoſed danger, has been experienced on more than one occaſion. Moſt of them indeed bore arms in the American war, and ſome have been practiſed in firing the guns, which have been mounted for the colony's defence.

In order to introduce a ſyſtem of internal police, every ten houſeholders have been inſtructed to chuſe annually a tithing-man, and every ten tithing-men a hundredor; the laſt mentioned of whom are three in number, there being about three hundred houſeholders in the colony. The hundredors are conſulted by the Governor and Council, on ſuch occaſions as concern the general intereſts of the Nova Scotians.

The Directors are convinced, that in proceeding to form any plans of government, it will be neceſſary to conſider the ſtate of mind of thoſe who are to be governed, and a variety of local circumſtances. They have hitherto adviſed the Governor and Council to proceed gradually, taking experience as much as poſſible for their guide, and endeavouring to apply a remedy to every evil as it aroſe, rather than to form at once any conſiderable code of new local inſtitutions.

The Directors wiſh to obſerve, that in thus touching briefly on the point of government, they have thought it ſufficient to ſtate the general principles which have been aſſumed, and the manner of trying offences and providing for the defence and police of the colony, which has been reſorted to up to this period: they do not wiſh at preſent to offer any opinion on thoſe meaſures, which it may be proper to give hereafter to this important ſubject.

In proceeding to ſpeak of the ſtate of Religion and Morals within the ſettlement, it is only doing juſtice to the Company's ſervants, in the firſt place, to remark, that their conduct in general has been ſober, moral, and exemplary; and that the ſuperior ſervants eſpecially, in whom the chief power is veſted, appear to have promoted the cauſe of Chriſtianity and the practice of every moral duty, both by the manner in which they have exerciſed the public truſt committed to them, and by their private influence and example. On the ſubject of the labors of the clergymen who went out from England, the Directors think it their duty to obſerve, that the colony has derived ſervices highly important, in every view, from the gentlemen who filled this part of their eſtabliſhment.

The Directors in ſpeaking ſo favourably as they have done of the general morals of their own ſervants, muſt of courſe be underſtood to except all thoſe of whom any thing that implies a contrary character has been mentioned in any part of this report; and they muſt alſo make an exception of a few others who have not been individually noticed. The perſons in whom they have been the moſt diſappointed, have been the lower overſeers, of whom it was difficult to get any thorough knowledge at the time of engaging them, on account of their having reſided in the Weſt Indies: of the ſeveral individuals of this claſs that originally went out, none are now re-

maining

maining in the colony. The Court will not wonder, if in ſpite of all the care taken in the choice of the perſons ſent to Sierra Leone, a few inſtances ſhould have occurred even of notorious immorality among ſo conſiderable a number. The Directors, however, have reaſon to think, that the proportion of their regular ſervants, who can be juſtly charged with any thing directly licentious and immoral, will be found to have been very ſmall on the whole: and they have the ſatisfaction of ſaying, that a conſiderable decency of manners, and an unwillingneſs to diſgrace the cauſe in which they are engaged, appears at this time to prevade their eſtabliſhment.

Of the character of the Nova Scotia blacks, who may be ſaid to conſtitute the colony, the Directors propoſe to give a very full deſcription. Some degree of judgment may be formed concerning the ſtate of morals among them, by adverting to the offences which have been brought to view at the periodical ſeſſions of the peace. The higheſt crimes for which any proſecutions have yet taken place, have been adultery and petty theft; and more than one conviction for the former of theſe has occurred. From that claſs of vices which comes leſs under the cognizance of a public court, the Nova Scotians are in ſome reſpects remarkably free; marriage is extremely general among them, and all thoſe evils which more particularly reſult

from

from its being in difufe, are therefore in a great meafure avoided: drunkennefs is by no means common: fwearing is hardly ever heard: their attention to the fabbath is alfo great; they on that day abftain entirely from work, drefs themfelves in very good (and fome of them even in very gay) attire, and repair together with their children to church, where their deportment during the fervice, and their whole appearance are reprefented to be fuch as to form a very ftriking fpectacle.

It will appear from the above general defcription, that the Nova Scotians are evidently fuperior to the generality of people of the fame order in this country, in refpect to that particular clafs of morals which has been treated of; but this is certainly the moft favourable way of viewing them. It will be neceffary, in order to give a juft idea of their whole character, to enter rather largely into fome other points: and firft it may be proper to take notice of their religion, and then to dwell on fome of the peculiar difpofitions and prejudices of their minds, efpecially as they may refpect the Company: after which a retrofpective view will be taken of their paft circumftances and condition.

On the firft of thefe heads it may be obferved, that the Nova Scotians are not only punctual, as has been already ftated, at their worfhip, but that many of them profefs alfo in other refpects much regard to religion. It

is

is natural however to imagine, that among ſuch a body of men, almoſt all of them claiming to be thought Chriſtians, there will be ſome who have imbibed very inadequate or enthuſiaſtic notions of Chriſtianity; a few perhaps who ſet up hypocritical pretenſions to it; while there may be many others who, notwithſtanding ſome defect in their religious knowledge, may be conſiſtent and ſincere Chriſtians. There are five or ſix black preachers among them, raiſed up from their own body, who are not without a conſiderable influence; and it ſuppoſed that the diſcipline which they preſerve in their little congregations, has contributed materially to the maintenance of the general morals which have been ſpoken of.

The due regulation and command of their tempers, is one of thoſe points in which the Directors muſt ſtate that the Nova Scotians are (many of them at leaſt) moſt eminently found to fail. They have appeared in many inſtances remarkably raſh and haſty in their judgments, and vehement in all the diſpoſitions of their mind. The violence which occaſionally broke out at an early period of the ſettlement, was ſuch as to give ſerious anxiety to the government; it ſhewed itſelf in vehement declamations made ſometimes in the public ſtreets, and in marked expreſſions of contumely rudely and publicly uttered againſt the Company's chief ſervants. Some ſymptoms of ambition appeared about

the

the ſame time in one or two individuals, who had acquired a temporary popularity in the colony. The extreme violence which has been ſpoken of was ordinarily confined to a very few, but ſome degree of it occaſionally extended itſelf to a greater number, and the more forward and aſſuming individuals then grew eager to dictate in the name of the whole body. This turbulence muſt certainly be mentioned as one of the chief circumſtances of diſcredit to the character of the infant ſettlement. Although the Directors truſt that ſo miſchievous a ſpirit has now conſiderably ſubſided, they have nevertheleſs thought it proper to ſend out orders, that if there ſhould ſtill be any individuals who perſiſt in complaining againſt the government, they ſhould be deſired to avail themſelves of an opportunity which will be afforded them of returning back to Nova Scotia.

The unreaſonableneſs of many of the ſettlers in eſtimating their own merits, and their very inadequate ſenſe of thoſe obligations which have been conferred on them by the Company, muſt be ſtated as another material circumſtance to the prejudice of ſeveral of their characters. All this is combined indeed with the falſe and abſurd notions, which the more forward among them have imbibed, concerning their rights as freemen, and the whole nature of their claims on the Company.

When the Governor and Council thought proper to diſmiſs one of the Nova Scotians

from

from his work, on account of disrespectful conduct towards his superiors, a number of his comrades made a formal application to have it established as a law, that no Nova Scotia labourers working under the Company should ever be turned off in future, unless after a verdict given to that purpose by a jury of his peers. When the dispute ended concerning the quantity of the Company's own land to be reserved near the shore for public uses, some of the Nova Scotians in allowing at length that a certain portion of it should be so reserved, conceded the point by saying, that they would *oblige* the Company with the piece of land in question. The claims which they set up for an increase of wages, and for a reduction in the price of articles sold at the Company's store-house, have been already mentioned to the court, and their unreasonableness has in no instance appeared more strongly than in these applications; for their wages, at the time of their complaint, were no less than two shillings and six-pence a day; and the price of the goods sold to them was only such as to afford a clear profit, (after paying freight, interest of money, as well as prime cost and all other charges) of about ten per cent to the Company. It is worthy of remark also, that they usually prefer both the above mentioned and all their other claims, though matters of bargain between the two contracting parties, emphatically in their character of freemen.

If

If an additional ſix-pence be not added to their wages, they declare that they ſhall then conceive themſelves to be treated as ſlaves. If the governor be not diſmiſſed for having ordered water to be mixed with the rum, before it was expoſed to ſale (which it has proved on enquiry that he did with no other purpoſe, than that of bringing it to the fair and proper proof), it is intimated in like manner that the whole colony is about to be reduced to ſlavery. Undoubtedly theſe expreſſions are uſed often in haſte, are ſometimes alſo retracted, and in whatever name they may be urged, ſhould never be charged on the whole body. They afford a ſpecimen however of the ſort of reaſonings with which the government abroad has frequently had to combat, and they may tend to ſhew the propriety of the line of conduct adopted by the Directors, which has been that of endeavouring to compoſe the minds of the coloniſts, by giving a favourable impreſſion of the Company's general diſpoſition towards them, rather than attempting to ſatisfy them by reiterated and unreaſonable conceſſions. The ſubſtance of their complaints, if they could be made good, would amount in effect to this; that the Company gain too much money by their dealings with the ſettlers, and are profiting to an unreaſonable degree at their expenſe; for all the points in diſpute have been required by them to be ſettled in ſome way that would turn out more favourably to

 the

the Nova Scotians, and more unfavourably to the finances of the Company.

The Directors have ſtated in the foregoing account, that out of about two hundred and forty thouſand pounds capital, above eighty thouſand pounds have been already ſpent in eſtabliſhing the colony; and, if the dead ſtock be included (as the greater part of it may), above one hundred thouſand pounds. If the Company had proceeded entirely on thoſe intereſted views which ſome of the Nova Scotians have been ready to aſcribe to them, and had merely eſtabliſhed a factory for their trade, the expenditure of a fourth or a fifth part of this ſum would probably have been ſufficient; and conſequently about eighty thouſand pounds (not to mention the expenſe paid by government in tranſporting the Nova Scotians) might have been ſaved. The bare ſtatement of theſe facts ſufficiently proves the unreaſonableneſs of thoſe Nova Scotians, who are always complaining of the illiberality of the Company. It is true that advantages poſſibly even outweighing all this expenſe, have accrued to the Company from their migration to Sierra Leone. Theſe however have been advantages not gained by the Company as traders looking to their own profit, but as founders of the Sierra Leone Company, for the firm eſtabliſhment of which they may reckon themſelves chiefly indebted to the Nova Scotians. This ſum of eighty thouſand pounds, (which is a third part of the

the Company's whole capital) has therefore been the price paid for the civilization that is now begun in Africa: it has been facrificed to that caufe, which the Sierra Leone Company have confidered as their own, the caufe of Chriftianity and Freedom and Civilization among the race of Africans; to the caufe more particularly of thefe Nova Scotians themfelves and their pofterity.

The jealoufy and fufpicion fhewn by many of the Nova Scotians, efpecially in their intercourfe with whites, is another circumftance that muft be mentioned in fome degree to their prejudice. They have all profeffed indeed to entertain the moft favourable opinion of the intentions and principles of the Directors, who therefore hope that they will be difpofed to a ready acquiefcence in the decifions of the Court, whenever they may be made known to them. Few however of the fervants fent out have efcaped their fhare of harfh and unreafonable fufpicion: but though this unpleafant difpofition muft be mentioned, as forming one material feature in the character of the fettlers, yet great allowance for it will undoubtedly be made, if due confideration be had of the various fufferings which fome of them have undergone, and the very unequal meafure of juftice which they have formerly received, and are now habituated to expect, at the hand of whites.

In eſtimating indeed the whole character that has been given of the Nova Scotians, the peculiar circumſtances of their paſt lives ought not to be forgotten, and this therefore is a ſubject to which it is material to draw for a while the attention of the Court.

It ſhould be remembered that the men whom the Directors have been deſcribing, were all of them at one time ſlaves; that in that period of their lives, when they were abridged of their liberty, they probably, like others in their condition, were but little reſtrained in reſpect to many branches of morals, that marriage was not then inſtituted among them, that the want of parental care and inſtruction was not at all ſupplied by any inſtitution of ſchools, and that no one, in ſhort, then conſidered it as his duty to inculcate any kind of religious or moral principles among them. It ſhould be conſidered alſo, how much they muſt, at the ſame time, have been degraded in reſpect to the faculties of their minds, how ſmall their opportunities of knowledge were, how little inducement they had to cultivate their talents, or to exert their underſtandings. They felt undoubtedly a ſtrong ſenſe of the peculiar hardſhips under which they laboured, but it is probable they were little acquainted with the true nature of civil rights, or accuſtomed to think accurately about them: on the contrary, they may very naturally be ſuppoſed to have often confounded the unavoidable hardſhips of life, and the

punishments needful in society, with all those other ills which a principle of arbitrary power imposes, and which it can signify little to those who are involved in a state of hopeless captivity particularly to discriminate. It is to some want of discrimination and remaining ignorance in this respect, that much of that unreasonableness of the Nova Scotians which has been described, and that some of the absurdest of those particular claims which have been specified, may obviously be traced, and not to any original fault in their moral character more than in that of other men, nor to any natural inferiority in their understanding. And when it is considered how often the advocates for a system of servitude have, on their part, confounded both slavery itself and all the enormities attending it, with the necessary evils of human life, and the institutions that are requisite in civil society, it surely need not excite surprise if emancipated slaves should be subject to a like confusion of ideas, and should seem, in the same manner, to labour under some dulness and inaccuracy of understanding, when acting under the bias of self-interest.

It seems proper to observe, in addition to what has been already said on the original condition of the Nova Scotians, that the Directors are not without reason for supposing the state of their servitude to have been more harsh than the American servitude is in general; for it should be noticed, that they form

a portion of thoſe ſlaves who, during the American war, ran away from their maſters and took refuge in the king's army; which it ſeems natural to imagine that thoſe would in general be the moſt diſpoſed to do, whoſe ſituation was the moſt hard and uncomfortable. Indeed if this preſumption of their ill treatment, ariſing from the manner of their emancipation (which is increaſed by the account that a few of them recite of their extraordinary ſufferings), ſhould be thought unfair, and ſhould appear to derogate too much from the ſuppoſed mildneſs and humanity of American maſters, it ſeems then to follow, on the other hand, that they were thoſe ſlaves who were the leaſt ſenſible of the mild treatment they received, who were the leaſt attached to the perſons of their maſters, and the moſt prone to be diſcontented with their condition. On either of theſe ſuppoſitions, the Nova Scotians may be ſaid to furniſh a leſs favourable ſpecimen of the character to be expected in emancipated ſlaves, than may be commonly hoped for in other caſes. It can hardly be neceſſary to obſerve, how extremely unfavourable the circumſtances through which they have paſſed into a ſtate of freedom will appear, if their caſe ſhould be compared with that of ſlaves, who might be emancipated on a prudent principle of diſcrimination; to whom liberty having been firſt held out in proſpect, in order to prepare them for it, might be granted after a certain period

period of ſervice, as the profeſſed reward of induſtry and merit; or might perhaps be communicated by degrees, as local or other circumſtances might make adviſeable, privilege after privilege being added, in proportion as their diligence ſhould advance, as their property ſhould accumulate, and their perſonal intereſt in the maintenance and well-being of ſociety ſhould increaſe.

But to reſume the ſubject which occaſioned this ſhort digreſſion—the Nova Scotia blacks having been born in North America of African parents or progenitors (a few only excepted who were imported Africans, and were chiefly kidnapped as they ſay in their infancy), having paſſed the principal part of their lives in a ſtate of ſlavery that was probably worſe than ordinary, and having then emancipated themſelves in the manner that has been mentioned, they fulfilled on their part the conditions required of them in the proclamations iſſued by the Britiſh commanders, having been of the number of loyaliſts who joined the ſtandard of Great Britain. Whatever education or inſtruction any of them have received, appears to have been chiefly got ſince the æra of their emancipation. A few of them with a part of their earnings put themſelves to ſchool, with the view either of increaſing their religious knowledge, or of laying the ground for ſome future improvement in their condition; and theſe are now the preachers and ſchoolmaſters of the Sierra Leone colony. After

paſſing

paffing through various fcenes, for the moft part living among the Britifh folders, and following the common fortune of the army; not unfrequently expofing themfelves in battle, as the wounds of feveral will teftify, and getting credit always for their courage, but not fo uniformly for all the other parts of their character; their numbers being now confiderably reduced by the death of fome and the difperfion of others (a portion of them being fuppofed to have again fallen into the hands of the Americans); the remainder were brought to Nova Scotia at the end of the war, in order to receive, in common with the white loyalifts, certain allowances of provifions and portions of land, in purfuance of the promifes made to them in thofe proclamations, which have been already alluded to. They ftate that they obtained the rations of provifions, though not to the full extent of their expectations; that inftead of the promifed lots of land, they got in general only a fmall town-lot of little value, the white loyalifts having engroffed all the ground that was valuable; and that they were further difappointed in not finding themfelves admitted to the ufual privileges of Britifh fubjects, and in particular to the right of trial by jury. It has been already noticed, that their fenfe of thefe injuries, together with their experience of the unfavourablenefs of the climate of Nova Scotia, induced them to feek redrefs from the Britifh government, by means of a delegate

from

from their own body, whom they ſent to England for that purpoſe.

When Mr. Clarkſon appeared as the Company's agent in Nova Scotia, and ſtated at ſeveral public meetings of the free blacks, the propoſals held out to them by the Company, together with the liberal offer of a free paſſage to Sierra Leone made by the Britiſh government, they expreſſed at once the moſt lively joy and exultation; they congratulated themſelves on being now about to be emancipated from a ſituation which they had almoſt conſidered as a ſecond ſervitude, both on account of the ſpecific hardſhips already ſtated, and the general diſrepute and inequality of treatment which had followed them into the Britiſh colony, in which they had attempted to incorporate themſelves. The eagerneſs of their deſire to migrate, is ſaid by Mr. Clarkſon, to have rendered him ſo much the more careful in guarding them againſt the indulgence of all unreaſonble expectations. No allowance even of proviſions after their arrival was held out to them, and the neceſſity of working on their lots of land, in order to get their livelihood, was urged upon them univerſally. But their ardour was not at all repreſſed by theſe or any ſimilar ſuggeſtions; they ſold haſtily and without regret, at the moſt inadequate prices, ſuch of their little effects as could not eaſily be carried away with them: a few of thoſe who were poſſeſſed of property aſſiſted others who were

in

in debt, to satisfy such claims as might have prevented their migration; and several who were the heads of families, are said to have undertaken, for the support of the younger and more unprotected females, to whom no passage was granted except on this condition. The whole body waited several weeks in tents at Halifax, for the collection of the shipping, during which time they were exposed to much inclemency of weather, and contracted a considerable degree of sickness: they set sail in the beginning of January, 1792, having readily adopted every measure that was suggested to them for the maintenance of exact order during the voyage, and having thus far uniformly testified both their gratitude and obedience to Mr. Clarkson and to the Company.

Their conduct since this period has been already sufficiently described, and the Directors think that when it is considered in connection with all those circumstances of their past lives which have now been also mentioned, although some of the pleasing expectations which were excited by a few first appearances may have been disappointed, their character may fairly be said to turn out as favourably on the whole as could reasonably be expected. It should be noticed indeed, that among these emancipated slaves, there have not been wanting instances of a few, at least, who have afforded a most favourable specimen of the African character,

on whoſe general diſpoſitions Chriſtianity appears to have had a moſt benign and happy influence, and who have ſhewn themſelves on all occaſions humble and contented, the friends of order, and the zealous promoters of peace.

Let it therefore be carefully remembered on the one hand, that every thing which has been ſaid in diſparagement of the Nova Scotians, is to be underſtood with ſome exceptions, and with various degrees of limitation: let it alſo be conſidered, on the other, how great and various have been the diſadvantages under which all of them have laboured; and it will then no doubt appear, that the turbulence of ſome, the unreaſonableneſs as well as jealouſy of many more, and all the other unfavourable circumſtances in their character, are more or leſs to be looked for in any body of men who have been in their condition. They are faults incident to them moſt unqueſtionably, not as blacks, but they may be traced to our common nature. And who is there who will venture to ſay, that if he had entered into life alſo under ſimilar diſadvantages, and had ſtruggled under a like ſucceſſion of vexations, hardſhips, and diſappointments, his mind would not have contracted any of the ſame prejudices, nor his character have been marked by any of thoſe untoward diſpoſitions, which belong to ſome of the preſent coloniſts of Sierra Leone?

It has been already noticed that the Gover-

nor

nor and Council are endeavouring, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, to expedite as much as possible the settling of them on their own lands; by the cultivation of which there is reason to think that they, like the former settlers now living at Granville Town, may be able to get a comfortable subsistence: and if, by the blessing of Providence on their industry, they should find their substance accumulate and their general prosperity advance, their families at the same time continuing to increase, it can hardly be doubted that they will thus gradually be brought to estimate more justly their obligations to the Company. It is important however to observe that, both with a view to their own happiness and to the Company's great object of extending civilization in Africa, it is of the highest consequence that they should neither be left without instructors from hence, nor without a government consisting of Europeans.

Their children, who were about three hundred in number, are universally sent to school, and are reported to advance quite as fast in their learning as children commonly do in this country; although they were not supplied till lately with very suitable and sufficient English masters. The Directors propose to spare no pains or expense that may be necessary in order to maintain this part of their establishment on the best footing, and they will continue to direct the peculiar at-

tention of the Governor and Council to ſo very important an object; for it is to this riſing generation of well-educated blacks, that the Directors chiefly look, for the gradual improvement of the internal ſtate of the colony; and to them alſo it ſeems by no means preſumptuous to hope, that ſome of the more diſtant and even of the interior parts of Africa, may one day poſſibly be indebted for the introduction of Chriſtianity, for the propogation of European knowledge, and ſome important attainments in civilization.

The progreſs made in the extenſion of civilization among the natives, together with the difficulties which have occurred, and the opening proſpects in this reſpect which have been afforded, are the only part of the preſent general head that remains to be treated of. This however is a matter of ſuch great importance, and of ſo very intereſting a nature alſo, that the Directors are perſuaded they need offer no apology for entering into it at ſome length, and for laying before the Court ſuch actual information as they have received upon it, with freedom as well as particularity.

It muſt be obvious to the Proprietors that, in treating of the Civilization of Africa, the nature and tendency of the preſent African Slave Trade, come directly and neceſſarily under conſideration. The Directors however in ſpeaking of the Slave Trade, do not propoſe to deal in obſervations and arguments

raiſed by themſelves at home on this beaten topic ; conceiving that they ſhall do more exact as well as ample juſtice to the ſubject, by reſorting to a ſimple narrative of what has been paſſing under the view of their ſervants abroad, and by enumerating a few ſtrong but authentic facts, which it will not be neceſſary to preface with much introduction.

They will deſcribe firſt, the deplorable ſtate to which the diſtrict around Sierra Leone, previous to the formation of the colony, had been reduced, through its intercourſe with Europeans; an intercourſe carried on up to that time, chiefly, if not excluſively, for the purpoſe of procuring ſlaves.—In the ſecond place, they will ſtate a number of more recent facts, ſome of them exhibiting the nature of the preſent Slave Trade, and the obſtruction which it has actually given to the Company's attempts to promote Civilization.

In ſpeaking of the firſt of theſe points, namely, the ſituation to which the long prevalence of the Slave Trade had reduced the country round Sierra Leone, the Directors cannot forbear briefly recapitulating a few facts which were recited in a former report made to the General Court, which was held nearly at the time of inſtituting the colony.

As a proof of the inſecurity of the porſons of the natives, it was then ſtated, that even the king of the country himſelf, though peaceable and more than ordinarily reſpected, had

in no leſs than three ſeparate inſtances been bereft of ſome relations of his own, through the various enormities of the Slave Trade. In a letter ſent by him to England, wherein he refers to one only of theſe three calamities, he ſays: "There are three diſtant relations "of mine now in the Weſt Indies, carried "away by one Captain Cox, captain of a "Daniſh ſhip, Corpro, Banna, and Morbour: "theſe were taken out of my river Sierra "Leone. I know not how to get them "back." And he ſtates his reaſon for encouraging the intended Sierra Leone ſettlement ſo warmly as he did in ſpite of all inſinuations to its prejudice, to be "In order "that there might be a ſtop put to the horrid "depredations that are often committed in "this country by all countries that come "here to trade." The ſubſtance of this letter, which appears to have been written by the hand of a ſecretary to the king, who had received ſome education in England, was afterwards confirmed by the king's ſon.

A few other ſpecific proofs of the prevalence of kidnapping were cited in that report, and one inſtance of the capture of a ſtraggling native by a party of kidnappers was given, of which the agent of the Sierra Leone Company, as well as another perſon then in England, had ocular demonſtration.

But the circumſtance to which the Directors wiſh more particularly to draw the attention of the Proprietors, is the mention

that was then made of ſeveral depopulated towns along the ſea coaſt (two of which the Company's agent had viſited), all of them ſaid to have been broken up by a mulatto ſlave-trader reſiding to the ſouth of Sierra Leone; who having had the advantage of other chiefs through the education he received in his youth at Liverpool, acquired a very ſuperior degree of power and influence, which it appears from abundant teſtimonies that he very freely exerciſed.

In purſuing the deſcription of the effects produced by the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the Directors will quote, firſt, ſome authentic evidences confirming and enlarging the account of ravages committed towards the ſouth, by the mulatto ſlave-trader abovementioned: they will then produce ſome evidence of its nature, brought from no great diſtance northwards of the ſettlement; to which will be added the information of ſeveral very competent witneſſes from the eaſt or interior country: a few additional facts of different kinds, ſome of them furniſhed at Sierra Leone itſelf, will form the remaining evidence of that deplorable ſituation to which Sierra Leone and its adjoining diſtrict had been reduced, previous to the formation of the preſent colony.

The Directors wiſh to obſerve, once for all, that the truth and accuracy of the information they are about to lay before the

Court

Court have been in general eſtabliſhed by the united teſtimony of ſome of the principal ſervants of the Company; and that all that part of it which will be given as quotation, was committed to writing by one of them always about the time and generally on the very day, often at the very hour, of its being received. *

On the ſubject of the mulatto trader who is ſaid to have depopulated the towns which are ſeen ſtanding to the *ſouth* of Sierra Leone, and who is now no more, his death having been brought about, as it is ſuppoſed, by ſome of the natives, the following information has been received:

After ſome intelligence nearly to the ſame purport, obtained from another quarter, it is obſerved:

" —— March 1793. A ſlave-trader of
" the name of ——, has alſo been men-
" tioning the devaſtations of the late mulatto
" trader, as a thing which conſiſted with
" his knowledge; he ſays, that his plan
" was to lend goods to every inferior chief,

* The Directors, for obvious reaſons, do not think proper to inſert in this printed report the names of all the perſons or places that may be ſpoken of in the journal, and other documents, from which they ſhall make their quotations; and they ſhall therefore deſcribe them in general by ſome circumlocution: they ſhall uſe a few other trifling liberties with the language, chiefly for the ſake of elucidation, taking care, however, in no inſtance to alter any word that is material.

 " or

" or head-man, who thought proper to re-
" quest them, and if the head-man was slow
" in fulfilling his engagements, that he
" would then arm two or three hundred of
" his grumettas (or working people) who
" being officered by white men, deserters
" from the ships, were sent to surprise the
" towns of his debtor. In this way had he
" depopulated the whole country from Cape
" Sierra Leone to the river Sherbro. In
" order to save himself from the effects of
" the general indignation raised against him,
he formed a purrah (or confederacy), by
" which he united the kings and principal
" chiefs (all of whom were deeply engaged
" in the Slave Trade), in an agreement to
" defend each other."

" ——— A native chief informed me,
" that a considerable town in which he used
" to live, was attacked by this mulatto trader,
" who was on that occasion aided by some
" of the other chiefs, and also by an Ameri-
" can vessel then waiting for slaves; that
" after a stout resistance his town was taken
" and destroyed; that himself however and
" the greater part of his people effected their
" escape to a small neighbouring island,
" whence they used to make occasional in-
" cursions on their enemy upon the main
" land: he mentioned his having taken forty
" prisoners in one of these expeditions, all
" of whom were sold as slaves."

A principal servant of the Company, when

on

on a viſit to theſe parts, adds the following information: "A ſlave of this mulatto chief "was ſet up by him as adminiſtrator of "juſtice in his own diſtrict, who is now "reckoned a perſon of great importance, "and is become too powerful to be thwart-"ed; much court is paid to him by the "ſlave-traders. It is ſaid that terrible cruel-"ties are practiſed by him, and that accu-"ſations are multiplied. A native chief of "a neighbouring village who was with us "on board the cutter, being aſked to go "with us on ſhore, declined it with a ſtrong "expreſſion of indignation and hatred againſt "this perſon, apprehending, as it appeared, "that if he came within his reach he ſhould "ſcarcely eſcape him.——In proceeding "along the river, we obſerved a number of "creeks, the entrance of which is too nar-"row for more than one canoe to paſs at a "time: at the head of moſt of theſe creeks "there are towns. Theſe retired places of "reſidence were choſen in the time of the "mulatto ſlave-trader, on the ground of "their affording opportunity to effect an "eſcape, in caſe of alarm, before the at-"tack could be made. One of the ſub-"ordinate chiefs, at whoſe town we landed, "confeſſed that this had been his motive for "chuſing ſo difficult a ſpot as that on which "he had pitched himſelf." Some further mention of this eminent ſlave-trader will occur in the ſequel, and the Proprietors will

 then

then be again reminded of the various traces of his ravages which have here been ſpoken of.

In proceeding to notice the effects of the Slave Trade towards the *north*, the Directors have to obſerve, that the two countries neareſt to the Sierra Leone (or Timmany) diſtrict, on that ſide, are the Mandingo and the Suſee countries. They will introduce ſome information from each of theſe. The Foulah country, which will be mentioned alſo, is ſtill farther off.

" ——— November. Two chiefs from " the neareſt towns to Freetown dined with " me: they both allowed the frequency of " kidnapping among the Suſees and Mandingoes; one of them had been an eye " witneſs to it. As to the Foulahs, he ſays " it is univerſally acknowledged that they " make war for the ſole purpoſe of pro- " curing ſlaves. He ſays it often happens " that a company of Foulahs, having brought " ſlaves to market, is attacked by a party of " Freebooters, who infeſt the country be- " tween the coaſt and the Foulah country, " and who both rob people of their goods " and make ſlaves of them to boot, ſo that " it is not unuſual for the ſame man who " ſold others as ſlaves, to be ſold in a few " weeks afterwards to the ſame ſlave-factory " himſelf."

The following intelligence is from the

Mandingo,

Mandingo, which is immediately north of the Sierra Leone country.

" ——— November. A trader from the " Sufee country related the following anec- " dote, of which he himfelf had been a wit- " nefs. Two or three years ago, the chief " of Quiaport river, in the Sufee country, " attacked the chief of Bowrah, and made " prifoners of fome of his people, whom he " fold to the Britifh flave-factory to the " north of Sierra Leone. The chief who " had been attacked collected all his force, " defeated the other chief, and made a great " many of his people prifoners; with thefe " he went and redeemed his own people " from the flave-factory, who obliged him " however to pay two for one."

" February 1794. A mulatto lady, mif- " trefs of a large town in the Mandingo " country, who poffeffes confiderable in- " telligence, called on us in the evening, and " ftaid in the fettlement two or three nights. " She has been to England in her youth, " and her Englifh name is Mifs B. Heard. " We talked much about the Slave Trade; " fhe faid fhe difliked it, for it kept her in " conftant terror, fince fhe never knew when " fhe lay down at night, whether fhe might " not be affaffinated before the morning. " She faid that for fome time paft there had " been no wars in the interior country to " hers, and acknowledged that the wars do

 " not

" not happen when there is no demand for
" slaves."

The Directors will add one more quotation on the subject of the northern district:

" In the Mandingo and Susee countries,
" which lie between the river Sierra Leone
" and the Rio-Pongas, kidnapping is very
" frequent; nor is this done by the strangers
" alone. It often happens that children are
" kidnapped by people of a neighbouring or
" even of the same village."——" A person
" who has resided several years in the Man-
" dingo country, told me that mothers, in
" that part, never fail to collect their
" children together with great care as night
" comes on, and either shut them up or
" endeavour to keep them within their
" eye till morning.——It is stipulated in
" these parts between the slave-trader and
" the kidnappers, that none of the natives
" around shall be admitted to a sight of the
" slaves, who are usually conveyed away by
" the craft in the night, the barter of them
" having been made in the night time also.
" I have conversed with many natives as
" well as traders on this subject, and they
" have every one of them confirmed the
" above account. A principal factor, from
" whom I inquired the reason of the great
" frequency of kidnapping among the Man-
" dingoes, observed that it arose from their
" head-men getting into debt to the Eu-
" ropeans, and being then put into confine-
" ment

" ment by them; in consequence of which
" the people belonging to these head-men
" were laid under an obligation to kidnap
" some person, in order to effect their re-
" demption."

The following information respects that part of the interior or *eastern* country which is not far distant from Freetown, and is subject to the King of Sierra Leone.

" A chief residing in one of the upper
" branches of the Sierra Leone river, whose
" character is considered as respectable, has
" been with us: the following is the sub-
" stance of his information with respect to
" the Sierra Leone trade. The people in-
" land, he says, are used to go to war on
" purpose to make slaves: at present, there
" being no great demand, they do not make
" war. White people often encourage pa-
" lavers (or quarrels), promising dashes (or
" presents of liquor) in case the convicts
" are sold to them. They were in the prac-
" tice also of fomenting war, by giving am-
" munition to both parties; this used for-
" merly to happen very frequently, of which
" he specified two instances. He told me
" that he was himself engaged in a war
" which lasted five years, when a British
" slave-trader furnished both him and his
" enemies with powder; that he used then
" often to waylay and sell strangers, in order
" to buy arms and ammunition; but he says
" this was '*a bad thing*,' and justified only
" by

" by the neceſſity he was under of finding " means to defend himſelf: had there been " no ſlave-factories he would not have done " ſo. The ſlave-traders have acted differently " of late years; for the inhabitants of his " country being much diminiſhed in their " numbers, and the wars among them very " much interrupting the intercourſe with the " remoter parts, the ſlave-factors have uſed " their influence to ſettle all differences, and " to ſecure to the people further inland a " free paſſage to the river's mouth. For " ſome years paſt there have been no wars " in his part, but almoſt all the ſlaves ſold " there have been brought down from the " country further up."

" The ſame chief mentioned that it was " not uncommon for head-men, when they " wanted goods from the ſlave-factories, to " give a hint to their wives to encourage " ſome of the natives to commit adultery, " who if they fell into the ſnare, were then " ſold to the ſlave-factory on the accuſation " of theſe women."

" Two native ſlave-traders who poſſeſs a " conſiderable ſhare of intelligence, have " been with us. They informed us that " kidnapping was a general practice 'among " the buſh-men;' by which they mean thoſe " who live in the interior: that it was no " unuſual thing for the inhabitants of the " coaſt to travel back into the country, and " lie in wait in the woods for any ſtraggling

" people.

" people. They ſaid, that almoſt all the " ſlaves brought from a diſtance, were taken " either by force or fraud."

After ſo many various and independent proofs of the nature of the Slave Trade, and of that horrible deſolation which it has ſpread on every ſide, it cannot be very neceſſary to bring forward any additional and individual facts in order to furniſh further teſtimony of the ſame kind. The following ſtory happens, however, to afford an inſtance of the practice of kidnapping at Sierra Leone, of too intereſting a nature to be omitted.

The Proprietors may recollect that of the Nova Scotians who have migrated to Sierra Leone, it has been obſerved that ſome were originally inhabitants of Africa, and that a great proportion of theſe were, according to their own account, kidnapped in their infancy. It has been found that three of their number were furniſhed from parts not very far diſtant from Sierra Leone; one of theſe three was taken from Sierra Leone itſelf, as he uſed to mention when ſailing thither on his return. When he landed, he found himſelf nearly on the ſpot from whence he had been carried off, and pointed to a particular part of the beach, where, as he relates, a woman laid hold on him, he being then a boy, and ſold him to an American ſlave-ſhip in the river. The interval of his abſence had been about fifteen years. He recollected the way to his native town, which

was

was only two or three miles diſtant, but he felt, for a time at leaſt, ſo great a dread of parting from the body of his companions, that he delayed making an expedition thither.

A number of Nova Scotians, of whom this man was one, were ſtanding together among their tents, not long after their arrival, when a body of natives, led by curioſity, came down to ſee the ſettlement. An elderly woman of the party was obſerved by ſome of the ſettlers to have her attention arreſted, and very peculiar emotions excited whenever ſhe could obtain a view of the face of this Nova Scotian: ſhe was heard to utter ſome words in her native tongue to her companions with much agitation, and at length fully recognizing his countenance, ſhe ran up to him and embraced him: ſhe proved to be his own mother. It was learnt on inquiry that his father was now dead: the parents had never been able to diſcover the ſmalleſt trace of their child, whom they had given up for loſt; nor does it appear indeed that any means of diſcovery were afforded them. The woman who ſtole him remains altogether unknown, and the impunity of the captain of the ſlave-ſhip, even if he were known, is but too obvious: nor is it not to be ſuppoſed, that even if the kidnapper had been known by the child that was kidnapped, the redemption of the child from ſlavery, and the conſequent puniſhment of the kidnapper, would have been at all forwarded. Having

once

once ſecured her prey and committed it to the hold of a ſlave-ſhip, no diſcovery ſeems after that time to have been poſſible: ſhe had nothing further to fear, unleſs indeed ſuch a number of extraordinary events ſhould concur, as that of the child's emancipating himſelf, in the firſt place, by running away at the peril of his life from his maſter, that of his returning then to the very ſpot in Africa from whence he had been taken, and laſtly that of his finding out and ſeizing and giving evidence againſt and convicting, the perſon who had ſold him into ſlavery. In the preſent inſtance, though ſo very remarkable a one, only a part of theſe circumſtances are found. The Directors cannot forbear obſerving that this incident affords an illuſtration of the nature of the Slave Trade, which applies equally to the caſe of ſlaves kidnapped on the coaſt and of thoſe taken further inland.

Having ſhewn how Sierra Leone has had her towns laid waſte, and her inhabitants occaſionally carried off through the various enormities of the Slave Trade, on the other hand it may be noticed, that her mountains have gained an occaſional acceſſion of inhabitants through the ſame unnatural traffic; an acceſſion indeed, as the ſubſequent account will ſhew, of a few forlorn and miſerable beings, whom the Slave Trade has taught to take refuge in her heights, and to dread the very ſight of their fellow-creatures.

"About

" About five or six years ago, a Danish
" vessel lying at anchor in the mouth of
" Sierra Leone river, was cut off by the
" slaves: the head-man of the neighbouring
" shore on which they landed, happening to
" favour their escape, they made their way
" to the mountains, and there they built
" themselves a town, at the supposed distance
" of four or five miles from Freetown, in
which they still reside. Their jealousy of
" strangers is however said to be such, that
" they do not permit them to approach, and
" that they even watch the avenues of their
" retreat." Such is the substance of the intelligence on this subject obtained from the son of a considerable chief, to whom the Company are indebted for several other pieces of information which have been quoted.

The Directors learn from some very recent accounts, that in consequence of the above intimation, two servants of the Company have made an expedition to the place of residence of these people, which is termed the Deserter's Town. They succeeded in getting into the town without any particular molestation, and they have authenticated the chief facts which have been stated. They learnt also, that when this body of runaway slaves first established themselves on the mountains, they were about one hundred in number, but that they are now reduced to about eighty, partly by deaths and partly also by kidnapping.

Another distressful story resulting out of

this event remains to be added. It appears that a complaint was preferred againſt the head man who favoured the eſcape of theſe ſlaves, and the great mulatto trader already ſpoken of is ſaid to have been the perſon before whom the queſtion was tried. It is commonly ſuppoſed that the complainant took the precaution of ſelling his chance of forfeiture for a moderate ſum to the judge, before the trial came on: certain it is that the judgment given was, that the head-man with all his generation (that is, all the people living in his town) ſhould be ſold for ſlaves; and as many of theſe as could be caught were ſold accordingly. The head-man indeed was ſpared, after having been ſome time a priſoner, and lives at preſent not far from Freetown.

The Directors have now concluded that part of their information which applies to the period antecedent to the formation of the colony. They will next proceed to the relation of a number of events of a more recent date; and they will ſhew firſt, by a variety of facts, what thoſe ſources have been from which the Slave Trade has been ſupplied during the laſt two years, ſo far as reſpects the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. The various evils interwoven in the trade, the private miſery which it has cauſed, the drunkenneſs it has introduced, and the ſcenes of blood to which it has occaſionally given riſe, will

all

all appear in the further progreſs of this detail.

The firſt quotation that will be given, affords an inſtance of one of the leſs atrocious modes of reducing people to ſlavery in Africa, and recites a converſation with a ſlave-captain of the better ſort.

" February 1793. A native of ſome con-
" ſequence applied to the governor for his
" aſſiſtance in getting his daughter redeemed,
" who had juſt been ſeized by a perſon to
" whom the native owed ſome money, and
" ſold to a ſlave-ſhip lying off Freetown.
" The governor in conſequence went to the
" ſlave-captain, and made him an offer either
" of goods or money, as the price of her re-
" demption; but the ſlave-captain refuſed
" to take either the one or the other, ob-
" ſerving that ſlaves were now difficult to be
" got, and muſt not eaſily be parted with.
He ſaid, that ſince the girl ſeemed to be
" a favourite, he ought, if he gave her up,
" to have by rights two ſlaves in return;
" but that he would conſent, however, as a
" compliment to the governor, to let her
" be taken back, in conſideration of her being
" replaced by one prime ſlave. He added,
" that the father of the girl had been on
" board of his ſhip the ſame morning, in
" order to ſee his child, that he was preſent
" at the interview, and that he had been
" much affected at the concern ſhewn on
" both ſides; but he remarked again that
" ſlaves

" slaves were scarce. The governor, under
" all the circumstances of the case, could not
" interfere any farther. The father went off
" however in quest of a slave, which he
" seems not to have been able easily to pro-
" cure; for he did not return till a very long
" time after, when the ship was gone."

The two following stories furnish two nearly similar instances of the mode in which the chiefs decide in supposed cases of adultery between their wives and the inferior natives: the former case, in which the proceeding is more mild, describes the conduct of an African chief; the latter, in which the justice was more summary, that of an European chief who has put on African manners.

—— " A native was brought to me by
" one of our school-masters, who implored
" our protection, having just escaped from
" the hands of the chief of the nearest town
" to us, who, as he said, had put him into
" confinement and threatened to sell him,
" on a charge of adultery with one of his
" wives, unless he would pay down a certain
" sum, which it was out of his power to
" command: the man cursed the slave-factory
" as the cause of all his misery, and declared
" himself innocent of the charge." The principal point here to be noticed is, that the chief, or head-man, who threatened to sell the native, acted in this case by his own single authority, and, like several other chiefs who will be mentioned, seems not to have

 been

been amenable to any ſuperior on account of the judgment he might give in this or any ſimilar cauſe, between himſelf and the people of the town belonging to him.

The caſe between the native and the European is as follows:—" A native of Sierra " Leone who has lived a great many years " as a grumetta, or free labourer, at a neigh- " bouring European ſlave-factory, has been " ſold on the ground of his having com- " mitted adultery with one of the European " ſlave-factor's wives. The European ſlave- " factor ſold him to a ſlave-ſhip, avowing this " to be his reaſon, without even the form of " a trial." Five white men, and a variety of natives alſo, are mentioned as competent witneſſes of this circumſtance, to which ſome further reference will be made hereafter.

A ſtriking ſpecimen of African juſtice is afforded by the following ſhort and apparently well authenticated ſtory.

—— " On one of the rivers neareſt to us, " there is a town, where a king or chief re- " ſides, and where an European alſo lives " who keeps a ſlave-factory. The king " having got drunk one day, talked of flog- " ging the ſlave-factor: the people of the " king were accordingly proceeding to do it, " and would have actually fulfilled their in- " tention, if the ſlave-factor had not eſcaped " to his own houſe and barricaded it. When " the king grew ſober the ſlave-factor de- " manded ſatisfaction; upon which the king,

" in

" in order to conciliate him after what had " paſſed, ſold him two of his people."

The ſubſequent quotation furniſhes ſome ſtrong evidence of the very general drunkenneſs which has been introduced among the chiefs and men of influence on the coaſt: the natural alliance ſubſiſting between drunkenneſs and the Slave-Trade, and their mutual influence on each other, will here alſo be again exhibited.

—— " Six or ſeven of the native chiefs, " from all the neareſt towns, came to renew " their applications for rum: their perſeve- " rance is aſtoniſhing. By way of forcing " us into a compliance with their requeſt, " one of them obſerved, that if we would " not give him liquor he ſhould apply to " the ſlave-factory, and ſhould take his bro- " ther thither for a pawn. However, even " this had no effect; the Governor continued " firm, and at the ſame time endeavoured to " explain to them the motives of his refuſal. " They then ſaid that there was no palaver " (that is, no cauſe of quarrel) but they were " evidently chagrined. Having however " partaken of our dinner, they were brought " into tolerable humour, and I am in hopes " that theſe applications for rum will at " length ceaſe."

The following accounts are given, as to the ſubſtance of them, preciſely as they are related to the Directors, in whoſe opinion they are too important to be withheld.

——" I muſt mention ſome proceedings " of a British commander in this part, that " ſeem to me of a moſt nefarious nature. " A number of black mariners had been " hired to aſſiſt in navigating ſome French " ſhips trading on this coaſt: ſix of the ſhips " have been captured, and the black ſailors " found on board, amounting to nineteen in " number, though they were free men, and " receiving wages, have been all ſold for ſlaves, " one mulatto child only excepted. It is " painful to witneſs ſuch horrid acts of in- " juſtice. Why are not the French ſeamen " put up to auction in the ſame ignominious " manner? Or why is this difference be- " tween black men and white? The cap- " tured French ſailors were at war with us, " and they are not ſold; but the blacks are " all ſent to the ſlave-factory and ſold at " public auction, together with the goods " that formed the cargo: one or two of " them were free men of this neighbourhood, " and ſome of them were not only free, but " they are the ſons of chiefs; one of them " ſon of the king of Sallum. It is true the " Britiſh ſlave-factor who bought them, was " ſo good as to ſay that he would forbear to " ſend them off the country, ſo that their " friends might redeem them whenſoever " they thought fit to ſend other ſlaves in " their room. I am diſpoſed to believe his " profeſſions, but at the ſame time it is " dreadful to think of the contempt that is

" here ſhewn to juſtice. I would not allow
" myſelf at firſt to believe what I heard on
" this ſubject; but I ſaw them knocked down
" myſelf, at the price of about twenty pounds
" a piece."

—— " Another French ſhip has been made
" a prize (by a different captor), and three
" or four free natives found on board have
" been ſold to the neighbouring ſlave-factory.
" We remonſtrated with the captain who
" took her, on the impropriety of ſelling free
" people. He admitted it, but ſaid he muſt
" receive ſome money for their ranſom, or
" he could not think of parting with them.
" We upon this offered him money, but he
" then ſaid No, he muſt have ſlaves in their
" place, as he was in want of ſlaves, and
" that they muſt be four feet four inches
" high."

Another inſtance is mentioned of the ſale of ſeveral free women, who were found on board a French ſhip that was captured, having having been left there as pledges. The captain of the Britiſh privateer who took the ſhip was formerly a ſlave-trader.

The free Africans ſold by the ſeveral captors of the above mentioned French veſſels, were moſt of them eventually redeemed, being natives of the neighbouring coaſt. The captors however ſeem to have profited by their ſale, and to have taken no part in promoting their redemption.

The Directors by no means think that the

 diſguſt

disgust which will be raised by the next story which they shall recite, is a sufficient reason for withholding it; especially as another of the sources by which the Slave Trade is supplied with its victims, is exhibited at the end of it.

—— "A grumetta, or free labourer, be-
" longing to an European trader a little way
" to the north, was accused of theft by his
" master. The labourer, according to the
" superstitious custom of the country, de-
" manded to be tried by the red water; that
" is, by drinking a species of water suspected
" to be poisonous, the effect of which is sup-
" posed to determine his innocence or guilt.
" The British slave-trader after some time
" consented; the king of the country was
" summoned, and made his appearance to-
" gether with all his family and attendants.
" The common preliminaries being adjusted,
" the poor man drank one draught of the
" water, and then began to swell; presently
" afterwards he fell down dead, his belly
" bursting. On this the king very solemnly
" pronounced sentence against him, and then
" proceeded to condemn all his family to
" slavery. They were seized, and afterwards
" sold. During the trial two men with clubs
" stood on each side of the accused, in order
" to be ready to knock out his brains as soon
" as those symptoms produced by the red
" water, to which the natives attach guilt,
" should appear. The white slave-trader who

" was

"was the maſter of this man, and agreed to "this mode of trial, is conſidered very much "in the light of an African chief among the "natives of this part." Four different evidences of this are mentioned.

Although the proprietors are not yet prepared, by any thing that has been ſaid in this Report, to credit the degree of ſuperſtitious ignorance in which the natives of Africa are held (a ſubject which will be treated hereafter); yet the following anecdote, bearing in ſome meaſure on the Slave Trade, is here introduced.

——"A man in a neighbouring town has "been ſold a little time ago, on the charge "of having changed himſelf, by the help "of witchcraft, into a leopard, and of having "carried off, in that ſhape, ſome fowls and "goats from the town of the neareſt chief "to us."

The ſucceeding ſtory may ſerve to ſhew the extreme horror which ſome of the natives feel at the thought of being ſent into ſlavery.

——"A native employed by us as a free "mariner, went down on board our ſhip "Providence, to the river Sherbro: happen-"ing to ſee ſome rice come on board from "the factory on ſhore, while he could not "diſcover that any goods were given in ex-"change, he was ſeized with a dreadful fit "of terror, having taken up an idea that "there was an intention to ſell him for a "ſlave, in barter for the goods which were

" taken into the ſhip. At the moment when " the factor from the ſhore was ſtepping on " board, being full of this perſuaſion, he drew " a knife and endeavoured to ſtab him, but " having miſſed his aim he leaped overboard. " After ſome difficulty he was recovered " out of the water, and was aſked the reaſon " of his conduct, which he explained in the " way that has been juſt mentioned. He " continued ſtill to ſhew the greateſt fear, " and declared he would rather die than be " ſold as a ſlave. As it was ſuſpected that " he might have a ſecret deſign againſt his " own life, his hands were bound, but in " conſequence of his earneſt intreaty, and " his promiſe to remain quiet, they were a " little while after looſed. When midnight " came on he contrived to get into a canoe " alongſide the ſhip, which he cut away, and " then drifted down the ſtream, till he got " to a town at the river's mouth; here he " was ſeized and put in irons by the natives, " but on the captain's application to a chief " that is very friendly to us, he got his " liberty again. The idea of ſlavery having " got entire poſſeſſion of his brain, he ſoon " afterwards threw himſelf into the water, " and was given up for drowned. It proved " that he once more got on ſhore, and being " again recovered by the Company, he was " carried back in the ſhip to Freetown, " where he is now employed within the " ſettlement. It is thought by the phyſicians

" that

" that the terror of being made a ſlave muſt " have overpowered him ſo much, as to have " occaſioned in him ſome derangement of " intellect, which may occaſionally return in " ſome ſmall degree. He feels now very " much attached to the Company, and happy " in their ſervice: his friends ſay that he " never experienced the ſmalleſt diſorder in " his mind before this fright happened."

The following quotations throw ſome additional light on the nature of the Slave Trade, and coming from an immediate witneſs of the ſcenes which are deſcribed, cannot fail to intereſt the Proprietors. The dates of theſe ſeveral occurrences were various.

——" I have been to day for ſome time " on board a large ſlave-ſhip in the river, " which had taken in two hundred and fifty " ſlaves; the men were chained together in " pairs by the hand and foot, the women " were kept apart. The young ſlaves appeared cheerful and lively, but the old " ones ſhewed themſelves to be much caſt " down. At the approach of meal-time they " are obliged to ſet up a ſhout, and they " are made to clap their hands for exerciſe, " immediately before they begin to eat. I " was preſent when this was done, and could " ſee ſhame and indignation in the countenances of thoſe who were more advanced in years. One woman, who ſpoke " a little Engliſh, begged of me to carry her

" back

" back to Sierra Leone: ſhe ſaid that ſhe
" was a native of the oppoſite ſhore of the
" river to Freetown, that her huſband had
" ſold her in order to pay his debts, and
" that ſhe had left a child behind her: at
" the mention of the child ſhe wept."

——— " I was this morning again on
" board a ſlave-veſſel; there was a woman
" on deck who had been newly ſold, and
" ſhe ſeemed to have been ſhedding tears.
" I aſked her the reaſon of her ſorrow; ſhe
" pointed to her breaſts, from which the
" milk was flowing, and intimated that ſhe
" had been torn from her infant, while it
" was yet unweaned. The captain alſo in-
" formed me that this was the caſe. She
" was from one of the neareſt towns to us:
" ſhe ſaid that ſhe had been ſold on account
" of her being ſaucy to the queen or head-
" woman in it."

——— " In walking through the neigh-
" bouring ſlave-yard, I ſaw a man about
" thirty-five years old in irons: he was a
" Mahometan, and could read and write
" Arabic. He was occaſionally noiſy; ſome-
" times he would ſing a melancholy ſong,
" then he would utter an earneſt prayer,
" and then perhaps for a time he would
" obſerve a dead ſilence. I aſked the reaſon
" of this ſtrange conduct, and learned that
" it was in conſequence of his ſtrong feel-
" ings on his having been juſt put, for the
" firſt time, in irons: I believe he had be-

" gun

" gun to wear them only the day before,
" As we paſſed he cried aloud to us, and
" endeavoured to hold up his irons to our
" view, which he ſtruck with his hand in a
" very expreſſive manner, the tear ſtarting
" in his eye. He ſeemed by his manner to
" be demanding the cauſe of his confine-
" ment."

" The captain of an American ſlave-ſhip
" has been telling us that he loſt a very fine
" ſlave a few days ago *by the ſulks*. The
" following were his words, as nearly as I
" can recollect.——The man (he ſaid) was
" a Mahometan, and uncommonly well
" made, and he looked to me as if he had
" been ſome perſon of conſequence. When
" he firſt came on board he was very much
" caſt down, but on finding that I allowed
" him to walk at large, he got a little more
" reconciled to the ſhip. When the number
" of my ſlaves grew to be ſuch that I could
" not let them have their liberty any longer,
" I put this man in irons like the reſt, and
" upon this his ſpirits ſunk down again to
" ſuch a degree that he never recovered it.
" He complained of a pain at his heart, and
" would not eat. *The uſual means* were tried
" with him, but it ſeemed all in vain, for
" he continued to reject food altogether, ex-
" cept when I myſelf ſtood by and made
" him eat. I offered him ſome of the beſt
" things in the ſhip, and left no method un-
" tried with him, for I had ſet my heart on

" ſaving

" ſaving him. I am perſuaded he would
" have brought me three hundred dollars in
" the Weſt Indies; but nothing would ſuc-
" ceed. He ſaid from the firſt that he was
" determined to die, and accordingly ſo he
" did after lingering for the ſpace of nine
" days. I aſſure you, gentlemen, I felt very
" ſorry on the occaſion, for I dare ſay I loſt
" three hundred dollars by his death, and
" to ſuch a man as me that is a very heavy
" loſs."

The two following dialogues will exhibit, in a ſtill ſtranger point of view, the manner in which the enormities that have juſt been charged on the Slave Trade are plainly acknowledged on the coaſt, and ſometimes even by the perpetrators themſelves. They will alſo tend to ſhew in what manner thoſe Europeans who are become familiar with the iniquitous ſcenes commonly going on in Africa, have been brought to tolerate them in their minds, and to accommodate their feelings to them; how completely they have loſt ſight of every real principle of juſtice, and have learnt to ſubſtitute a morality of their own, to which they attach a certain degree of credit, which however evidently amounts to nothing higher than a diſavowal of ſome horrible enormities, and is in fact only a more deliberate and effectual ſyſtem of injuſtice, cruelty, and oppreſſion.

" The following is the ſubſtance of a con-
" verſation which I have been holding with

" an Engliſh ſlave-factor, who has been living " for ſome years a little way to the ſouth, " and has had full opportunity of acquainting " himſelf with all the practices of the Slave " Trade. The ſlave-factor having ſpoken " of the late mulatto trader (the ſame perſon " of whoſe ravages the Proprietors have " heard ſo much) in rather ſtrong and fa- " vourable terms, having mentioned him as " a very gentleman-like, well-educated, ſen- " ſible, and reſpectable kind of man, I was " induced to aſk, in the progreſs of the con- " verſation, whether he had not been guilty " of many exceſſes all around his own neigh- " bourhood." —— " Exceſſes! No. He " would make war ſometimes on the head- " men that owed him money, and would " ſell ſome of their people in order to pay " himſelf, if he could catch them; but this " was only when he had ſome juſt debts that " were unſatisfied: or he might perhaps " carry off the inhabitants of a town, when " the king or father of it gave him per- " miſſion, he having firſt bought from the " king an expreſs authority to take them. " He was *a good man* on the whole, and *a* " *man of humanity*: for he by no means ſhed " all the blood he might, nor did he always " ſell every one of thoſe he had a right to " ſell. For inſtance, there is the chief now " living near Freetown, who was adjudged " to be his property as well as all his gene- " ration; but the chief himſelf has never

" yet

"yet been ſold, which is to be looked upon
"as a mere act of forbearance in the mulatto
"trader; I conſider the ſentence however to
"be ſtill in force againſt him."——"Did
"not the mulatto trader order an attack on
"the neighbouring iſland, on which occaſion
"the proprietor of it was killed in defending
"himſelf; and is it not conſidered by the
"ſurviving friends of the proprietor that this
"attack was an act of great injuſtice?"——
"The proprietor well deſerved to be at-
"tacked, for there is reaſon to think he was
"at that very time intending to attack the
"mulatto trader."——"I underſtand that
"this affair is by no means over, and that
"the ſucceſſors of this proprietor intend to
"retaliate on the ſucceſſors of the mulatto
"chief, when they have an opportunity."—
"I believe they do, but it ill becomes them
"to call in queſtion the conduct of the
"mulatto chief, for they ſhould conſider how
"much worſe things their own father uſed
"to do. I will give you a ſpecimen of his
"proceedings. The old man has been known
"to ſail up a river with ſome large craft fol-
"lowing him, and to land at a conſiderable
"town under a great ſhew of friendſhip.
"Having called the head-men and all the
"people together, he has made them a
"ſpeech, remarking how very ſhamefully
"they had been uſed by all former traders,
"and aſſuring them that he was come to do
"them good, and to trade fairly with them as

"with

" with friends and brothers. He has next
" told them, that, as a proof of his friend-
" ſhip, he has brought a puncheon or two
" of rum with him, which he has then
" opened and invited them to ſit round and
" drink. On the approach of night, when
" he has got them thoroughly intoxicated,
" he has given the ſignal to his people in the
" craft, who have come up and ſecured all
" the party in fetters and carried them down
" to the river's mouth, where he has ſold
" every one of them that was worth pur-
" chaſing, to ſome ſlave-ſhip that was all the
" while in waiting. Many other things of
" this kind uſed to be done by this old pro-
" prietor. But as to the mulatto trader, he
" never did ſuch things as theſe; he would
" never uſe treachery, neither would he
" attack a town without having reaſon for
" it; but the other man uſed to plunder
" without diſtinction."——" Does the ſuc-
" ceſſor of the mulatto trader take the ſame
" means of recovering debts as his prede-
" ceſſor did?"——" *No, he is too eaſy.*"——
" Is it not an unpleaſant thing to carry on a
" trade ſo full of enormities as you deſcribe
" the Slave Trade to be?"——" It is no
" doubt a bad trade, but it is very profitable.
" I hate it, and would get out of it to-mor-
" row if I knew of another line in which I
" could get the ſame money."

The converſation that follows, though not altogether unlike the former in its ſtile, refers

to ſome different points, and is one of a much more ſhameleſs kind. It occurred with a ſlave-captain on the coaſt, of whom however it ſhould be obſerved that he certainly ſurpaſſes moſt of his brethren in effrontery and cruelty of diſpoſition. The effects produced by the Slave Trade on the minds of Europeans, which nothing can ſhew more clearly than the recital of theſe dialogues, conſtitute a conſideration of ſuch great importance in the opinion of the Directors, as to outweigh every objection to the quotation of them.

——" A ſlave-veſſel, which has been " waiting ſome time in the neighbouring " river for her loading of ſlaves, arrived " here. The captain has been complaining " bitterly of his tedious detention, and in " the courſe of the converſation he went the " length of obſerving, that if he had been " well manned he would not have allowed " the trader with whom he had been deal- " ing, to detain him as he had done. For " (ſaid he) there was a large town directly " oppoſite the place where my veſſel lay, " and if my hands on board had been ſuf- " ficient I would have carried off ſome of " the people. I aſked him, whether taking " away the people, in that manner, was a " common thing: O not at all uncommon " (replied he) we do theſe things every day " on the Gold Coaſt, we call it *panyaring*. " If a native in that part is not ſo ſpeedy as

" he

" he ſhould be in his payments, you man
" your boats towards the duſk of the even-
" ing, and bid your ſailors go up, to any
" town that is rather near, where they catch
" as many people as they can, no matter
" whether it be your debtor's town or not.
" If your debt be large, it may be neceſſary
" to catch two towns; after this, your
" debtor will very ſoon complete his number
" of ſlaves."——" But what if he ſhould
" not?"—— " Why then we carry our
" priſoners away, to be ſure."——" But is
" this proper?"——" Neceſſity has no law;
" beſides, panyaring is country law."——
" Did you ever recover debts in this man-
" ner?"——" Aye, many a time, and I
" hope to do ſo again: I wiſh we had the
" ſame law here that they have on the Gold
" Coaſt, or that the old mulatto trader was
" alive; he was a fine fellow to do buſineſs
" with, he would never cauſe any delay to
" any one. But as to the preſent man he is
" afraid to make a haul of the people, as the
" man before him uſed to do: he wants a
" proper ſpirit."——I aſked him afterwards
" how he contrived with his ſlender crew
" to keep a proper guard over his ſlaves.——
" I take good care, ſaid he, that they never
" ſhall do me an injury, for I put them all
" in leg-irons. And if leg-irons be not
" enough, why then I handcuff them. If
" handcuffs are too little, I put a collar
" round their neck, with a chain faſtened

"to it, which is locked to a ringbolt in the "deck. If one chain be not ſufficient, I "put two, and if two wont do, I put three: "you may truſt me for that."

"Towards the end of our converſation, "he very gravely aſſured me that he had "never known any acts of *cruelty* committed "in the Slave Trade."——"But are not "theſe things cruelties?"——"O no, theſe "are not cruelties, they are matters of "courſe; there is no carrying on the trade "without ſuch things as theſe."

That the Slave Trade has not unfrequently iſſued in the ſudden deſtruction of thoſe immediately engaged in it, and that no ſeverities can operate to the certain prevention of theſe dreadful evils, the following accounts of the cutting off of ſlave-ſhips, which have all been furniſhed from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and are moſt of them very recent caſes, will ſufficiently teſtify.

——"I have juſt heard that an American brig, commanded by Captain ——, "who I underſtand was outlawed in England, has been cut off by the ſlaves, ſeven "or eight leagues to the northward of Cape "Sierra Leone. A ſingle ſlave having armed "himſelf with an axe began the attack, "ruſhed into the cabin, and laid open the "captain's face and breaſt; he alſo wounded "a paſſenger who was on board very ſeverely; as the ſeamen made no reſiſtance

"they

" they were permitted to go off in the boat, " carrying the wounded people away with " them. The captain died. The slave-ship " was retaken by a Liverpool vessel, after " an encounter in which some of the slaves " were killed."

The following account of a very desperate struggle on board a slave-ship, forms part of a considerable detail of occurrences which do not altogether bear on the present subject. It is but candid to observe that the war which will here be spoken of, a war indeed of a most extraordinary and perhaps unprecedented kind, appears in no respect to have arisen out of the Slave Trade. The dangers attending this traffic are however strongly evinced by the story which will be given.

——— " I have got considerable light " into the history of Mahady, the famous " Mahometan prophet, who appeared in " these parts with an immense concourse of " followers, about three years ago. When " he was killed, some of his generals con- " tended together for the mastery, and one " of them was made a prisoner of war by " his antagonist, who immediately sold him " to a French slave-ship that was lying off a " factory not far from Sierra Leone. There " he carried himself with a sullen dignity, " and, even in chains, he would address his " fellow slaves in his accustomed tone of " authority and command, as if he were " still a man whom no one would dare to

 " disobey

" disobey. I heard this from a slave-trader
" who both beheld him a prisoner on board
" the slave-ship, and had also formerly seen
" him in the quality of a great chief or
" general in Mahady's train. The slave-
" trader recollected the chief, and the captive
" chief also recognized the slave-trader. On
" the same day, when the author of my in-
" telligence was on board, it happened that
" the chief was permitted to take a walk on
" deck without his usual fetters. No sooner
" had the captain of the ship set down to
" dinner with his friends in the cabin, than
" an appointed signal was given. The slaves
" rose to a man, knocked off each other's
" fetters, and, headed by this chief, made an
" attack on the barricade, with the view of
" forcing their way into the cabin; they were
" unable however to effect their purpose; the
" guns were pointed at them, some were
" killed, many leaped into the sea, and the
" insurrection was quelled. The captain was
" now proceeding to inquire who was the
" ringleader, when this chief came boldly
" forward and avowed that he had set on
" foot and headed the insurrection, adding
" that his wish undoubtedly had been to
" give liberty to all the slaves on board, and
" that he regretted his defeat on their ac-
" count; but that as to himself he was well
" satisfied with the issue of the contest, being
" now happy in the prospect of immediately
" obtaining what he termed his own liberty:

" the

" the captain did not delay to grant him the
" object of his wish, and hung him up in-
" stantly to the yard arm, as an example to
" the other insurgents."

The Directors think it may not be improper to observe, that they do not wish to be considered as approving in the smallest degree the leading principles of this chief, who appears to have been actuated by a spirit of pride and a disdain of life evidently unchristian. The dangers of the Slave Trade, and the impossibility of effectually guarding against insurrection, not the motives of the insurgents, of which the purity is not to be expected, are the points under consideration.

The Directors will proceed to add another circumstantial account of a no less fierce and very recent conflict on board a slave-ship.

" A vessel from the northward brought
" the account of the cutting off of a Boston
" slave-ship, by about forty slaves who were
" on board. Being kept only in single chains
" they took an opportunity, while the captain
" and chief part of the crew were below, to
" overpower the second mate and a seaman
" on the deck, whom they cut in pieces
" and threw overboard; they then began to
" attack the cabin, but being unable to force
" the door they brought the guns from the
" deck to bear upon it. The captain and
" the rest of his crew were now induced to
" surrender themselves on condition of hav-
" ing their lives spared, and the ship given

" to them as ſoon as they ſhould have na-
" vigated her into ſome place, from whence
" the ſlaves might eſcape. No ſooner how-
" ever had the captain and chief mate come
" on the deck than they were both put to
" death; but the ſeamen were preſerved for
" the ſake of having their help in navigating
" the veſſel, which they accordingly con-
" ducted towards the mouth of a neighbour-
" ing river. Happening ſuddenly to run
" aground, three of the ſeamen were ſent
" off in a boat to drop an anchor aſtern,
" which they had no ſooner done than they
" pulled away from the ſhip with all their
" might, ſucceeded in gaining the ſhore, and
" preſently brought down with them a ſlave
" trader, a reſident in that part, who having
" put himſelf and as many hands as he could
" get on board an armed ſchooner, attempted
" the recovery of the veſſel: an obſtinate
" engagement enſued, in which the ſlave-
" trader had three men killed and four
" wounded. The ſlaves having expended all
" their ammunition formed a raft, by the
" help of which they eſcaped to the ſhore;
" and it appeared on taking poſſeſſion of the
" ſhip that ſeveral on their ſide had alſo
" fallen in the battle. Of the ſlaves who
" gained the land ſome were immediately
" killed; the reſt, being eighteen in num-
" ber, were at length intirely overpowered
" by the natives, who were brought down
" in crowds to the river ſide by the noiſe of
" the

" the firing: these eighteen being taken
" prisoners were again sold for slaves."

One or two other recent instances of the cutting off of slave-ships in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, are mentioned to the Court, but the particulars are not transmitted.

The Directors will close this long enumeration of those general enormities of the Slave Trade, which have been brought to light through the establishment of the present colony, by giving a brief history of the origin, progress, and end of an European slave-trader, who lately died at one of the neighbouring islands to Sierra Leone, after a long residence on the coast, and who appears to have attained to a degree of ferocity and hardness of heart proportionate in some measure to his successes in this bloody traffic. As this man appears to have neither friend nor connection left, the Directors will think themselves under no obligation to use any concealment on the subject. His name was Ormond; he went out from England about thirty-five years ago, in the capacity of cabin-boy to a slave-ship, and was retained as an assistant in a slave-factory on the Sierra Leone river; in process of time he set up a factory for himself, in a neighbouring part towards the north, and though unable to write or read, he grew nevertheless to be so expert and accomplished a slave-trader that he realized, as it is supposed, about thirty thousand

 pounds

pounds ſterling. His cruelties were almoſt beyond belief. Two perſons, who ſeem to have had good means of information, have given the following account of them. " One " of theſe perſons, who had lived for ſome " time near to him, ſaid, he knew it to be " a fact that it was his common practice to " kill all his unſaleable ſlaves, by tying a " ſtone to their necks, and drowning them " in the river during the night." Nor was his cruelty confined to blacks; " being of- " fended by a white agent, or clerk, on one " Chriſtmas-day, while drinking freely with " ſome company, he ordered his ſlaves to " tie up the European, and then gave him " with his own hands four hundred laſhes. " The white factor died a few days after." The other perſon who ſpoke of this ſlave-trader agreed as to his general character for barbarity, and mentioned his having heard the following inſtance of it from an eye wit-neſs, namely, " that Ormond having caught " a black wife of his in a criminal connection " with one of his ſlaves, he tied them to- " gether to a tar-barrel, ſet it on fire, and in " this manner burnt them both to death." It is obſervable alſo, that this ſavage by no means fell ſhort of the natives of Africa in the degree of heatheniſh ſuperſtition to which he had attained; he had the ſame firm truſt with them in grigris, or charms, was ſubject to ſilly ſuperſtitious fears, and had the uſual faith in witchcraft. Providence having thus

per-

permitted this man to become a ſignal in-ſtance of a no leſs abandoned than ſucceſsful ſlave-trader, was pleaſed to allow that he ſhould experience before he terminated his days the following viciſſitude. A few years ago, having loſt his health, he went to the Iſles de Los (which lie to the northward of Sierra Leone) for the ſake of ſea air and medical help, having confided all his affairs to a mulatto youth, who was his ſon. Happening to have recently quarrelled with the Bagos, who are the natives that ſurround his place of reſidence, and to have deſtroyed one of their towns, they took this opportunity to retaliate, and came down in a body to attack and plunder his factory. The ſlaves of Ormond being not much attached to their maſter, favoured the Bagos, and the place being taken they ſhared in the general pillage; the buildings were all burnt; the goods in them, which are ſaid to have amounted to the value of twelve or fifteen hundred ſlaves (or near thirty thouſand pounds) were either deſtroyed or carried away; young Ormond and all who adhered to him were put to death; old Ormond lived to hear the news, but he died in about a month after.

The Directors have thought it proper to give the character of this man, principally with a view of exhibiting an inſtance of the great influence of the Slave Trade, in deſtroying the feelings, and depraving the human heart. The ſame ſtory may ſerve alſo

to

to ſhew, what crimes have been perpetrated with impunity by Britiſh ſubjects in Africa; and of what inſtruments Great Britain has made uſe, in carrying on this deteſtable commerce.

The Directors however would by no means be underſtood to impute to the general body of ſlave-traders on the coaſt, atrocities equal to thoſe which have been mentioned; at the ſame time they think it right to obſerve, that other inſtances might if neceſſary have been added, which would have exhibited very nearly the ſame degree of guilt and cruelty.

In proceeding next to ſpeak of the direct hindrances by which the Slave Trade will be ſhewn to have obſtructed the Company's views of Civilization, the Directors will dwell firſt and chiefly, on two or three particular facts, adding indeed in the ſequel, ſome obſervations on the general contrariety which muſt neceſſarily exiſt between the principles of the Sierra Leone Company and thoſe of the Slave Trade, even though no ſuch ſpecific hindrances as thoſe which will be ſtated, ſhould occur again.

The firſt inſtance that ſhall be named of a direct hindrance given by the Slave Trade to the Civilization, or rather indeed to the firſt colonization of Africa, will be one of a very intereſting, and perhaps the Proprietors may think, of a rather ominous and diſcouraging kind,

kind. The Directors allude to the overthrow or diſperſion of the firſt colony of free blacks from hence, which as the following account will ſhew, may obviouſly be traced to the Slave Trade.

The Proprietors may recollect, that this ſettlement, on which the firſt ſubſcribers to the preſent Sierra Leone Company founded a conſiderable part of their hopes, was mentioned, in the opening of this Report, to have been broken up not very long after its eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of a diſpute with the natives, in which the ſettlers (apparently however not through their own fault) unhappily became involved. The circumſtances were as follows. A native chief living within half a mile of Freetown, which is the ſame ſpot on which the free blacks from London originally placed themſelves, had loſt, as he affirms, two individuals of his town, by the depredations of an American ſlave-captain, and had been ſome time waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on any veſſel from the ſame country, that might come within his reach: the opportunity after a-while occurred; a boat which was found to belong to an American ſhip, happening to paſs up the river, was attacked and plundered by him and his people; the crew that were in her conſiſting of three or four men, were put to death, one only excepted, who eſcaped, and conveyed the news to the neighbouring ſlave-factory, the place to which the boat had

been

been going. The principal agent of the factory, after ſome conſultation with the officers of a man of war then lying in the river, determined on becoming the avenger of the outrage. Some ineffectual attempts were firſt made to induce the Chief to come on board the frigate, but after an interval of two or three days, the ſlave-factor himſelf, together with a lieutenant from the King's ſhip, and a body of Britiſh ſailors and marines, ſet out on an expedition to the town of the chief, having alſo added to their party two of the free blacks from the new ſettlement as their guides, who by living in the immediate neighbourhood, were of courſe acquainted with the road, and who were preſſed, as they ſay, moſt unwillingly into this ſervice. On the approach of this armed body of men, the Chief and his people fled; the town was plundered and ſet on fire; the ſlave-factor however, and the party with him from the King's ſhip, returning in the duſk of the evening, were ſuddenly attacked by a diſcharge of muſquetry from among the buſhes, and an engagement enſued, in which ſome natives are ſaid to have fallen on the one ſide, and the firſt lieutenant of the man of war and a ſerjeant of marines were killed on the other, a few alſo being ſlightly wounded. One conſequence of the ſlaughter that happened among the natives on this occaſion, was, that the Chief uſed afterwards frequently to vow, that he muſt now retaliate again for

the

the further loſs of people that he had ſuſtained; happily, however, the ſlave-factor, againſt whoſe perſon his rage was principally directed, ſoon afterwards quitted the coaſt.

This ſcene of outrage produced, as it happened, no great miſchief or inconvenience to the ſlave-factory, which is ſituated at ſome diſtance on an iſland in the river, and is alſo well fortified; but its conſequences were fatal to the neighbouring and unprotected ſettlement of free blacks. A palaver or council was called of all the ſurrounding Chiefs, who following the African cuſtom of directing their vengeance for every miſchief done to them, againſt any perſons guilty or not guilty, whom they have within their power, and whom they imagine in the ſmalleſt degree connected with the authors of the injury; and having heard that in this caſe two individuals from the neighbouring colony were among the hoſtile party, determined that the whole town of the free ſettlers ſhould be burned. The ſentence was executed within three days, and the ſettlers were diſperſed. It is but doing juſtice to the ſlave-factory to obſerve, that it afforded a temporary protection and ſupport to ſeveral of the ſettlers, during the firſt preſſure of their diſtreſs.

The ſtory that has now been recited deſerves notice, not only as affording an explanation of the immediate cauſe of the diſperſion of the firſt colony which went from hence to Sierra Leone, but as a ſpecimen alſo

of

of one of the kinds of danger to which every body of new ſettlers in Africa muſt neceſſarily be more or leſs expoſed, ſo long as the Slave Trade is carrying on all around them. The events which happened in this caſe were none of them ſtrange or extraordinary. An outrage is committed or ſuppoſed to be committed by a ſlave-captain, in the procuring of ſlaves; a blind and bloody act of vengeance on the part of the natives follows; the neighbouring ſlave-factory interferes, and the little adjoining ſettlement is involved in the conſequences of the quarrel. All theſe are accidents which belong to the very nature of the Slave Trade; they grow out of its ordinary enormities, they ſuit with its ferocious ſpirit, and accord with its principles of injuſtice: for the indiſcriminate ſeizure of each others perſons, is the very leſſon which is daily taught the Africans by the European factors, who blame no violence, revenge no injury, and diſcourage no atrocity that tends to the extenſion of their own traffic; and who, ſo far as the Directors are informed, are not accuſtomed to decline buying any man for a ſlave, on the ground of his having been unjuſtly brought into captivity. Indeed more than one inſtance might eaſily be pointed out, as the Directors conceive, in which the ſame ſlave-factory which became the adminiſtrator of juſtice upon this occaſion, has purchaſed Africans, knowing them at the time of purchaſe to be free men, knowing alſo that the

the individual who offered them for ſale, had himſelf ſeized them unjuſtly, and had no ſhadow of right to ſell them. Nor do the Directors mention this by way of caſting particular reflections on any individual ſlave-factory; for they believe that the other ſlave-factories in Africa follow the ſame cuſtom, each thinking it perhaps a ſufficient juſtification to plead, that if it ſhould be ſo ſingular as to decline making theſe purchaſes, other ſlave-factories would feel no ſuch ſcruples; or even if they did, that the captains of the ſhips themſelves, without the intervention of a factory, would purchaſe and carry off the people who might have been rejected. And indeed it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſlave-factors on the coaſt cannot be altogether inſenſible of the very important diminution which might eventually be made in their trade, if the principle of inquiring into the mode of procuring the ſlaves ſold to them, and of refuſing thoſe who might appear to have a juſt title to their freedom, ſhould be once in any degree admitted. But whatever be the ground, on which the encouragement evidently given to the commiſſion of outrages on the perſons of the natives, may be juſtified in the imagination of the ſlave-dealers, it is ſurely not to be wondered at, if either they themſelves, or white men viſiting the coaſt, or any neighbouring ſettlement ſuppoſed to be connected with Europe, ſhould occaſionally

feel

feel the effects of the diffusion of these principles of injustice.

The Court having heard the circumstances which caused the dispersion of the first colony, will not be surprised if the Directors, anxious to provide against a return of the same danger, should have felt that eager desire which has been stated in an early part of this Report, to enlarge the number of colonists, and should have urged on the Proprietors, as they did, the importance of forming at once a strong and respectable establishment.

Another evidence of the danger arising from the Slave Trade to the personal security of any neighbouring colonists, is afforded by the following story:

Some time before the establishment of the present Company, a British slave-trader who lived then in Sierra Leone river, but is lately removed, seized five free blacks (part of the colony from England which has been lately spoken of) justifying this violence on the ground of his having been wronged by one individual of their body, somewhere at a distance on the coast, where he was employed in navigating a vessel belonging to this slave-factor. The country law warranted, as the factor said, this mode of redressing the grievance, and he seems therefore to have taken the first five settlers he could meet with. He was induced, however, after some time, to release

releaſe three of them gratuitouſly, the two remaining priſoners being thought on conſideration to afford that recompençe for his loſs, which was fit and proper on the common principles of African juſtice. Theſe two men, who were admitted to have no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him, he having run away from the ſhip when at the diſtance of ſome hundred miles from the ſettlement, and whoſe only crime was that they had formerly lived in the ſame town with him, were kept by this Britiſh ſlave-trader ſome time in chains, and then ſold and put by him on board a ſlave-ſhip that was on the point of ſailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compaſſion on their caſe, and, having advanced out of his own pocket about fifty pounds ſterling for their redemption, releaſed them and ſent them home. The ſame chief lately fell into ſome diſtreſſes himſelf, and being in debt to one of the factories, was deprived of a favourite free boy, whom he had ſent with a meſſage to the factor, the boy being ſeized for the ſatisfaction of the debt. The chief, half diſtracted at the loſs, came down to Sierra Leone, and endeavoured in vain to trace the child from factory to factory: at length he called at Freetown, mentioned his preſent poverty, and the affliction which had brought him down to the coaſt, and modeſtly aſked to have the fifty pounds reſtored to him

which he had formerly paid for the redemption of ſome of the freemen of Granville Town, and had never claimed before. The Directors have mentioned all theſe circumſtances together and in this place, though part of them might have been claſſed with the incidents enumerated ſome time ſince, becauſe they wiſh to remark that the Governor and Council were led very carefully to inveſtigate the whole of this intereſting caſe; and they found from different concurring circumſtances, that the main facts were preciſely as has been ſtated. The fifty pounds were paid back to the chief by the Company, in conſequence of this inveſtigation.

The Directors have reaſon to think that ſeveral others of this firſt unprotected body of ſettlers have been ſold from time to time, and actually carried off the coaſt. One is believed to have been kidnapped by a neighbouring black ſlave-trader; and an inſtance has occurred of another having turned kidnapper himſelf; the natives whom he had ſeized and ſold were however recovered, through the intervention of the Company, and the kidnapper was corporally puniſhed. Some are alſo ſaid to have been ſold for crimes charged againſt them. All theſe incidents however, the detection and puniſhment of the individual who turned kidnapper alone excepted, happened antecedently to the formation of the preſent colony.

The Proprictors, after all the evidence that

has

has been given, will not be surprised if the insecurity of travellers, and the prevention of a free communication with the interior country, should be spoken of as another hindrance to the views of the Company. The mention of this point, indeed, opens a wide field for reflection. It has appeared from many recent investigations, that the natives of Africa who live towards the coast, are far more barbarous than those of the interior country; and that while the population towards the sea is extremely thin, and the little intercourse that subsists in this part dangerous, there are to be found, on advancing further inland, many towns of considerable magnitude; some of which, lying in the very heart of Africa, are supposed to carry on much internal trade, and even to have made no small progress in Civilization. Whether, therefore, the immediate interests of the Company, or the general benefit both of Africa and Europe, be contemplated, the opening of some connection with the interior of this vast continent, naturally presents itself to the mind as a most desirable object. But here again the Slave Trade exerts its baneful influence. That general insecurity of persons which results from it; that dissolution of all government which it has caused on many parts of the coast; that drunkenness which it has introduced among the native kings and chiefs; but, above all, perhaps, the dread of secret machinations from the slave-traders them-

 selves

ſelves, who by means of a chain of factories have a conſiderable influence in the interior, and may be conſidered alſo as holding the key of Africa in their hands, by poſſeſſing almoſt the entire empire of the coaſt—all theſe circumſtances form, unqueſtionably, a very formidable hindrance in the way of every liberal and benevolent attempt to extend diſcoveries in Africa, with the view of ultimately ſetting on foot ſome peaceful and mutually advantageous intercourſe with the natives of the interior parts.

The Proprietors are already informed that an attempt to penetrate into the country ſurrounding Sierra Leone, was made by the Company's mineralogiſt, in the very infancy of the colony. He was a perſon who to ſome impatience of ſpirit, joined a very ardent mind, a love of general knowledge, and great perſonal reſpectability, as well as experience in his profeſſion. He went from England for the purpoſe of extending his diſcoveries, having voluntarily offered his ſervices to the Company, taking no ſalary, but ſimply ſtipulating, that if any profits ſhould ariſe from his profeſſional reſearches, he ſhould have the ſhare which mineralogiſts are commonly allowed, and that the expenſes of his paſſage and living at Sierra Leone ſhould be borne by the Company. This firſt of the adventurers from Sierra Leone on a journey of diſcovery, was attacked and plundered of all his goods, as was before ſtated, by a native chief,

chief, and was obliged to return in ſo deplorable a condition, that he appears to have died of the vexations and hardſhips he encountered. It would not have been unreaſonable to ſuſpect that the Slave Trade might have imparted ſome of its ferocity to this chief, even if no evidence of a poſitive connection between him and the ſlave-traders had been furniſhed. It has however happened, that a ſubſequent attack on another ſervant of the Company has been made by the ſame chief, at the inſtigation, as the Directors are informed, of a French ſlave-trader; who repreſented to him and his people, that a ſhip of the Sierra Leone Company trading in this river, had been equipped for the purpoſe of making war on all the French ſlave-factors living in his territories. On the arrival of the Company's veſſel, the natives were alarmed; but the peaceable demeanor of the captain, who merely went up to buy ſome rice in the principal town, ſoon allayed their fears. The chief however meeting with the captain while he was thus employed, and being very drunk at the time, was induced to make an aſſault upon him. The people aggravated the inſult, tore the clothes from the captain's back, dragged him to another town about two miles off, and there kept him priſoner. When the chief grew ſober, he began to reflect on what he had done, ordered the priſoner to be ſet free, and made him ſome

 preſents

presents by way of compensation for the insult.

The Directors will not add, in this place, any more observations on the hindrances which the Slave Trade has given to the Company, as the same general subject will necessarily recur again, in speaking of the steps that have been taken to promote Civilization. Yet before they dismiss the topic of the Slave Trade, they propose in consequence of its very great importance, briefly to recapitulate some of the leading circumstances which have been stated.

It appears then, that the chief sources of the Slave Trade are debts, wars, crimes, and kidnapping. When debts are stated to be one of the sources of slavery, there may seem nothing on the first view very dreadful in the idea; but let the facts which have been mentioned on this subject be put together, and they will be found to exhibit such a system of wickedness, and such a scene of accumulated misery, as would by no means have presented itself to the mind, on a slight investigation.

In the first place it may be observed, from the concurrent testimonies which have been given, that if an African contracts a debt, it is not the debtor himself that is commonly sold for the discharge of it; an innocent person almost always pays the penalty: a wife, or a child, or some other near connection of the debtor, or perhaps some native resident in

his town, or ſome ſtranger who had ſought protection there, is the perſon that is carried off by the ſlave-trader. (*a*) On one occaſion, as it has been ſhewn, a child is torn away from its father by a debtor, and the ſlave-captain ſails away with it before the parent can bring the prime ſlave demanded as a ſubſtitute. (*b*) In another inſtance, a wife is ſold by her huſband on account of a debt, and is ſeen weeping in the ſlave-ſhip, having alſo left a young child behind her. (*c*) In a third caſe, a favourite free-boy having come down to the coaſt with a meſſage, is ſeized for the debt of his principal; and he alſo is ſent from Africa, before any opportunity is afforded for his redemption. (*d*) In a fourth, two of the ſettlers from England are ſold, (three more having been alſo captured) on account of the debt of a townſman who runs away from his captain, on another part of the coaſt. When the cuſtom of ſelling men in ſatisfaction for debt is contemplated in other views, it becomes ſtill more dreadful. The native chiefs appear to be encouraged to contract debts by the ſlave-traders themſelves, for the ſake of that right of ſeizure which is known to follow. The very large credits given in Africa, which cannot be ſuppoſed to ſtand on the ordinary principles of commerce, but ſeem peculiar to a trade in ſlaves,

(*a*) See page 112. (*b*) p. 122. (*c*) p. 145. (*d*) p. 144.

form perhaps one of the grand ſupports of this traffic; for ſome facts which have appeared at Sierra Leone, unequivocally ſhew that liberality of credit is made the means of legalizing all manner of enormities; it ſerves the purpoſe either of ſubjecting a country to a ſlave-factor, or of ſecuring quick diſpatch to a ſlave-ſhip. By theſe credits the Mulatto trader acquired his power over all the neighbouring chiefs, and enabled himſelf to depopulate the whole country around him, without violating the cuſtoms of Africa, or forfeiting his character as a (*e*) '*good man and a man of humanity*.' It is obvious alſo, that ſlave-captains coming to trade on the coaſt, may make a no leſs extenſive uſe of the ſame ſyſtem of credit. By unloading a part of their goods, and diſtributing them among the African headmen, they eſtabliſh a claim to ſeize both them and the inferior people: and (*f*) '*if therefore the crew of the ſlave-ſhip be ſtrong enough*,' they need never wait long for their cargo, for they have only to reſort, as one ſlave-captain did not ſcruple to ſay that he uſed to do, '*to the country law of* (*g*) *panyaring*.' (*h*) In the Mandingo country it has been ſhewn, that debts are the ſource of kidnapping: for "the headmen getting into debt to Euro-"peans, are then put into confinement, in "conſequence of which their people are "obliged to kidnap, in order to effect their

(*e*) page 125. (*f*) p. 128. (*g*) Ibid. (*h*) p. 105.

redemption."

redemption." It may not be improper to remark, that there is no proceeding by which the Sierra Leone Company appear to have given ſo much offence to the native chiefs, as by refuſing to indulge them with the uſual African credit.

Wars are another ſource of the Slave Trade, and might alſo ſeem, on a ſuperficial conſideration of the ſubject, to rank amongſt its leaſt objectionable ſources. But when a view of facts is taken, they are ſeen evidently and neceſſarily to involve the moſt horrible enormities. The natives of Africa, fearing to live detached from each other, congregate in towns under the protection of ſome headman, whom they commonly term their father: (*i*) he, being corrupted by liquor, is indulged with a very liberal loan of goods, and thus becomes involved in debt to the ſlave-factor: on the ground of this debt, war is made by the factor on the people; ſome are killed, and many more taken, and ſold into ſlavery, and thus the debt of the chief is diſcharged. This is preciſely the deſcription of that multitude of little wars which were carried on by the great Mulatto ſlave-trader againſt all the inferior chiefs around him. From theſe wars others ſpring, and a long ſucceſſion of hoſtilities is thus entailed on the chiefs and on the people. (*k*) A chief

(*i*) See page 100. (*k*) p. 101.

escapes from the Mulatto trader, with the residue of the people of his town, to a neighbouring island: thence, for a considerable period, he carries on a vindictive and at the same a predatory war, with his adversaries on the main land, taking occasionally forty prisoners at once from the mulatto trader, who would not be slow to retaliate in his turn; and further victims are thus furnished on each side to the Slave Trade. Some of these petty wars seem eminently productive to the traders; " (*l*) the chief of Quiaport " attacks the chief of Bourah, and sends to " the slave-factory many prisoners. The " chief of Bourah gathers all his strength, " and is put under the necessity of seizing " double the number from his antagonist; " for he is not allowed to redeem his own " people, except by paying *two for one*." Nor are these smaller wars among the inferior chiefs the only wars productive of slavery. There is not one great nation in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone which has not been represented, by credible witnesses, as being induced to go to war by the Slave Trade. (*m*) The female mulatto acknowledges, that when there is no demand for slaves, then there are no wars in the Mandingo country. " (*n*) The Foulahs, says another evidence, " are perfectly well known to go to war for

(*l*) See page 103. (*m*) p. 104. (*n*) p. 103.

" the

" the sole purpose of procuring slaves."
" The people directly inland, adds another
" chief, go to war for slaves; our country
" being however now very much depopu-
" lated, and the passage of the slaves from
" the remote parts being hindered by the
" wars, the slave-factories have lately en-
" deavoured to make up our quarrels, and
" the adjacent country to Sierra Leone,
" begins now to be at peace."

Crimes real or imputed form another principal ground on which persons are condemned to slavery: adultery is one of the highest: a native (*o*) chief in one case, and an European (*p*) chief in another, sells an inferior African on a charge of this sort; but in each instance the chief acts on no other authority than his own will, and evidently gets the emolument arising from the condemnation to himself. And here also let the drunkenness and depravity of the African (*q*) chiefs, who are thus judges in their own cause, be considered; let the polygamy prevailing in Africa be taken into the account; nor let the observation of a native trader be forgotten, " (*r*) that it is common for chiefs when they " want goods, to give a hint to one of their " wives, to encourage adultery in the lower " natives." The other charges of criminality, which have been mentioned as sources of slavery, have been many of them so slight,

(*o*) p 114. (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) p. 115. (*r*) p. 107.

and

and accompanied with ſuch indications of partiality and injuſtice on the part of the judges, that the deciſions aggravate the general horror excited by the comtemplation of this traffick. A whole town is doomed to ſlavery, the chief alone (*s*) excepted, for the crime of letting ſome runaway ſlaves paſs through their diſtrict to the mountains. A woman from the next town is torn from her child (*t*) and ſold, the milk ſtill flowing from her breaſt, merely as it ſeems for uſing impertinent language. (*u*) Two men are ſold by a chief after a fit of intoxication, in order to make compenſation to a ſlave-trader whom he had inſulted in his drunkenneſs. (*x*) One man is ſold on a charge of having changed himſelf into a leopard. (*y*) The whole family of another poor wretch who had been put to death by red water, on a ſuſpicion of theft, is ſold on account of his ſuppoſed offence. (*z*) The remarkable circumſtance of the mulatto ſlave-trader's ſetting up a ſlave to be a judge over his diſtrict, the growing power of this judge, the court paid to him by the ſlave-traders, and the dread of coming near him, inſtanced in the conduct of one of the natives, are alſo to be remembered.

The remaining ſource of ſlavery is kidnapping, of which numerous inſtances were given. (*a*) One of the Nova Scotians declares himſelf to have been formerly kidnapped from Sierra

(*s*) See page 110. (*t*) p. 122. (*u*) p. 115. (*x*) p. 119. (*y*) p. 118. (*z*) p. 101. (*a*) p. 108.

Leone,

Leone, by a woman, and ſoon after his landing he is recognized by his parents. (*b*) Relations of the King of Sierra Leone are carried off, at three different times, by kidnappers. (*c*) The Company's agent falls in with a party of natives, who are ſeen in the very act of kidnapping. (*d*) A free ſettler from England is kidnapped by a neighbouring ſlave-trader. (*e*) Another free ſettler turns kidnapper himſelf, but is detected by the Governor and Council, and receives the puniſhment which he deſerves. No leſs than three caſes occur in which Britiſh commanders are infected with the common contagion, and come under the denomination of kidnappers, ſince they ſell without ſcruple the free mariners found on board the French ſhips which they had captured. (*f*) In one of theſe inſtances nineteen freemen are ſold, many of them the ſons of chiefs. (*g*) In a ſecond, three or four others, in ſpite of the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of the Sierra Leone government. (*h*) In a third, four women, who had been left on board a captured ſhip as pawns. (*i*) The numbers in the Deſerter's town are conſiderably reduced, partly by kidnapping. In all the neighbouring countries alſo, kidnapping is declared by many witneſſes to abound. (*k*) Free-booters, ſays one, infeſt the parts lying between the

(*b*) See page 97. (*c*) p. 98. (*d*) p. 146. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) p. 116. (*g*) p. 117. (*h*) Ibid. (*i*) p. 111. (*k*) p. 103.

coaſt

coaſt and the Foulah country; ſo that the man who brings down ſlaves to the ſea ſide is often kidnapped himſelf on his return home, and ſold to the ſame factory, to whom he had been ſelling others. In the (*l*) Suſee country, ſays another, kidnapping is frequent. In the Mandingo country mothers dare not truſt their children out of their ſight after ſun ſet, for fear of the kidnappers. The reaſon of its general prevalence is obvious; (*m*) debts, as was before obſerved, produce kidnapping: the impunity of the crime, through the facility of diſpoſing of the victims, produces kidnapping. Wars alſo produce kidnapping: "(*n*) I "myſelf, ſays one chief, uſed during a five "years war to waylay and kidnap paſſengers: "but this I own was a bad thing, juſtified "only by the neceſſity I was under of having "ſome thing to give to the ſlave factories, for "the purchaſe of more ammunition." To all theſe inſtances are to be added the more than ordinary ravages aſcribed to the Proprietor of a neighbouring iſland, (*o*) who made it his practice to ſweep away the inhabitants of whole towns by treachery, when he had made them intoxicated, and of whom even the ſlave-factor complained that he uſed to ravage without diſtinction.

Theſe are the four ſources from which the ſlaves furniſhed from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone appear to have been ſupplied;

(*l*) See page 104. (*m*) p. 112. (*n*) p. 106. (*o*) p. 127.

nor

nor do the Directors conceive that any conſiderable number can have been obtained from theſe parts by any leſs exceptionable means. Indeed it is reaſonable to preſume that a multitude of atrocious acts have happened at Sierra Leone, in conſequence of the ſlave-trade, which have been perpetrated in ſecret, or kept back at leaſt from the view of the Sierra Leone Company's agents.

The preceding account reſpects indeed thoſe ſlaves only who have been furniſhed from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and not the general body of ſlaves ſold in Sierra Leone river, of whom much the greater part are brought down from the interior country. The Directors conceive, however, that no one can have any right to aſſume that the caſe of inland ſlaves differs eſſentially from that of ſlaves taken on the Coaſt*: the injuſtice and treachery practiſed in taking them, and the ſcenes of private wretchedneſs reſulting from their captivity, can hardly fail to be ſomewhat ſimilar, in whatever part of Africa the ſcene be laid in which the caſes happen.

Let then the whole aggregate of miſery cauſed by the Slave Trade be contemplated; let it be remembered that what has been deſcribed is but a ſample of the manner in which EIGHTY THOUSAND men* are annually carried off from Africa, by the civilized nations of the world, and more eſpecially by Great Britain; let all the variety of incidental enor-

mities

mities which have been ſtated be brought to recollection; let the blood ſpilt in (*p*) wars, let the cutting off of (*q*) ſlave ſhips, let the acts of ſuicide reſorted to by the captives on ſhipboard, and of wild and bloody (*r*) vengeance, by the incenſed natives on the ſhore, of which a few ſpecimens only have been given, be borne in mind. Let all the moral evil chargeable on this trade be duly conſidered; let the drunkenneſs, the treachery, the violation of all the natural feelings, through the ſelling of wives and children in diſcharge of debts or in exchange for liquor, let the depraved habits communicated as by contagion to (*s*) Britiſh captains, ſailors, and (*t*) factors on the Coaſt, and the enormous cruelties to which ſome of them have been tranſported, be recollected; above all, let the ſtop put to the Civilization of one fourth part of the habitable globe, and the guilt of hindering that light of revelation which has ſo long ſhone on Britain, from ſhining on the innumerable tribes who inhabit the interior of that vaſt continent, be added to the account; and on the other hand, let the preſent miſeries of Africa be contraſted with the bleſſings which might have reſulted from a contrary conduct on the part of Great Britain; from the introduction of Chriſtianity, from the communication of European knowledge, and from that promotion of

(*p*) See page 106. (*q*) p. 130. (*r*) p. 141. (*s*) p. 129. (*t*) p. 136.

induſtry,

induſtry, which is the ſure reſult of an honeſt, innocent, and peaceful commerce.—Let all theſe conſiderations be put together, and the evil of the Slave Trade will appear indeed enormous; its hindrance to Civilization, and its hoſtility to every principle that is profeſſed by the Sierra Leone Company, become abundantly evident; and the opening proſpects of Civilization which are about to be ſtated will be ſeen to be important, not only in reſpect to their immediate conſequences, but on account of their furniſhing alſo the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of the practicability of reverſing that cruel ſyſtem which as yet prevails in Africa, and a favourable omen of an approaching change in the general condition of that hitherto unhappy Continent.

The ſubverſion of the iniquitous trade in ſlaves was one of the motives which led to the inſtitution of the Sierra Leone Company; and it is one of the objects to which thoſe who have the management of its affairs, profeſs that their beſt endeavours ſhall be directed: they truſt, however, that they ſhall not allow their deteſtation of the trade to excite in them any perſonal ill-will towards the individuals engaged in it; and they feel a peculiar ſatisfaction in obſerving, that their government abroad, however their zeal in the cauſe of its abolition may have been excited by the ſcenes which they have witneſſed, have at no time reſorted either to any violent or under-hand means of forwarding this object; having

 neither

neither interrupted the ſlave-traders forcibly themſelves, nor endeavoured to irritate either the natives or the Nova Scotians againſt them. It may be proper to add, that they have been far from encouraging any ſailors who thought themſelves cruelly uſed by their captains, or any ſlaves belonging to the ſhips, or to the factories, to run away to their ſettlement. Indeed, it is due to the Governor and Council to mention that they have acted with a peculiar degree of temper and moderation, on ſome trying occaſions; labouring to compoſe differences, to promote harmony and peace, and to prevent all private acts of vengeance. They have alſo made a point of exerciſing equal juſtice towards the ſlave-traders, and have given proofs of humanity and kindneſs towards them. In particular, they have received and entertained the ſick Europeans from the ſlave-ſhips, many of whom having been attracted to Freetown by the known ſalubrity of the air, or the expectation of getting good medical advice, have either been lodged in the houſes of ſome of the ſettlers at the Company's expenſe, or gratuitouſly received into the public hoſpital.

As an inſtance of the impartiality of the Governor and Council, it may be obſerved, that a complaint of ill uſage having been made againſt ſome of the natives, by the ſame ſlave-captain whoſe enormous cruelties on ſhip-board, as well as cuſtom of ſeizing the natives on ſhore, have appeared from a converſation

verſation held with this perſon himſelf, which has been recited, the Governor and Council exerted their influence with the neighbouring head-man, to obtain a hearing of the caſe; in conſequence of which the natives charged with having committed the inſult, were brought before him; they however exculpated themſelves, the blame appearing to lie wholly on the ſide of the ſlave-captain.

The following is an inſtance of the protection afforded to a ſlave-trader by the Governor and Council, as well as of the care and prudence which have been exerted to prevent thoſe acts of violence which ariſe out of the Slave Trade, from taking place on the Company's diſtrict.

It has been ſtated that an European ſlave-factor (*u*) ſold a free native in his ſervice, without the form of a trial, on a charge of adultery with one of his wives; the ſale of this perſon gave riſe to the outrage now to be deſcribed. "A French ſlave-factor who lives in " a neighbouring part, having come on ſhore " on our ſettlement, was met by a native, " who accuſed him of having wrongfully ſold " to a ſlave-ſhip a free man (his brother) who " had ſerved the factor faithfully, as a free " grumetta, during many years. The native " proceeded to collar the Frenchman, and " threatened to drag him to a neighbouring " town, that the diſpute might be ſettled; I

(*u*) See page 114.

" rescued the European with some difficulty,
" being determined to forbid all such acts of
" violence on our ground; but while I was
" getting a boat in order to convey him out
" of the settlement, he fell again into the
" hands of the same native: by the help of
" the Governor and another principal servant
" of the Company, I rescued him again, and
" he got off in safety to his vessel. The
" Frenchman was so overwhelmed with terror,
" that he fancied every one of us his
" enemies, and began begging that we would
" put an end to his life ourselves, and not
" give him up to be murdered by the savages.
" I was afraid of some interference of the
" Nova Scotians, many of whom were looking
" on during this scene, but they behaved
" very well; in their feelings, however, they
" seemed to lean strongly to the side of the
" natives. I told them that before any stranger
" should be forcibly carried off from our district,
" we were determined that we ourselves
" would be carried off, and they were very
" much restrained by my holding this language.
" On the following Sunday our clergyman
" noticed from the pulpit, how unbecoming
" it would be if any stranger, however
" culpable he might have been, who
" had come into the settlement imagining he
" was under our protection, should have his
" person seized while he was in it: the Nova
" Scotians approved of what was said. I afterwards
" made a complaint to the chief of the

" district

" district in which the native who had col-
" lared the Frenchman lives, and received a
" formal apology for what had passed, being
" assured that no such outrage should be com-
" mitted in future. Soon after this, I found
" that the Frenchman had spread about a story,
" that the assault of the native had been ins-
" tigated by us, and had been altogether an
" affair of our contrivance. The poor man was
" certainly so terrified that he might not have
" been a judge of what passed at the time of
" the assault; besides, he would feel as a slave-
" dealer a strong prejudice against us: but I
" think I would submit to be again traduced
" by him rather than let any violence be com-
" mitted on our ground." This slave-trader is the same man who instigated the drunken chief to commit an outrage on the person of one of the Company's Captains, which he did very soon after his own rescue happened.

Although the Governor and Council, in conformity with the principles recommended to them by the Directors, have adopted this pacific line of conduct, some instances have certainly arisen of the Company's interference with the interests of the slave-traders, which the Directors fear may have been interpreted in some measure into acts of hostility, and become occasions of offence.

It is necessary to introduce the incident which the Directors are now going to mention, by premising that the legislatures of several of the States of America have prohibited

the trade in ſlaves in certain caſes under heavy penalties.

An American ſhip having arrived at the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, the ſupercargo, who appears to have been very little informed of the principles of the Sierra Leone Company, went haſtily to the Governor and Council, and made an offer of ſelling them the whole of her loading for a cargo of ſlaves; obſerving that he would take no other articles in barter, and that he hoped they would favour him with all the ſlaves he wanted, in the courſe of a few days. One of the Council aſked him how the American laws ſtood in reſpect to this trade. He ſaid the laws of that part of America from which he came, prohibited it in his caſe, inflicting forfeiture of the ſhip, and one thouſand pounds fine upon the captain: But, added he, nobody will inform.' It was anſwered to him, 'Indeed, ſir, you are miſtaken; I myſelf ſhall inform if none elſe undertakes to do it.' 'I hope, ſir, ſaid the ſupercargo, you will not do ſo unfriendly a thing.' 'I would rather, replied the member of Council, prevent evil than puniſh it; and I therefore give you warning, that if you carry off a ſingle ſlave from this coaſt, you ſhall find an information lodged againſt you in America.' The ſupercargo then declared that what had dropped from him had not been ſpoken in earneſt, and that he had a great abhor-

abhorrence of the Slave Trade. The American ſhip appears to have quitted Sierra Leone River immediately after this converſation, to the obvious prejudice of the ſlave-factories in that quarter.

The Directors have received from Sierra Leone, a liſt of all the American veſſels which have been known to tranſgreſs the laws of their country, and they are taking meaſures for conveying to the ſeveral legiſlatures, whoſe authority has been inſulted, ſufficient evidence of all the circumſtances which may tend to the conviction and puniſhment of the offenders.

One other ſtep taken by the Directors with the view of limiting, if poſſible, ſome of the exceſſes of the Slave Trade, may be worthy of mention. When the information arrived of the ſale of all the free-mariners found on board the captured French ſhips, it was accompanied with an intimation of ſome doubt having ariſen in the minds of the Company's ſervants abroad, whether they ought not to have taken on themſelves the redemption of theſe injured men: it was imagined that the price paid for their liberty might be recovered in England, by an action of debt againſt the Britiſh ſubjects who ſold them. On the other hand, it was obvious that much expenſe would accrue from ſending over all the neceſſary witneſſes from Africa; that there was alſo danger of failing

in ſome point of legal evidence, and that there muſt be a variety of uncertainties attending ſuch a buſineſs: the Governor and Council were therefore, on the whole, afraid of adopting this ſtep. The Court of Directors, however, on taking into conſideration the various advantages that might ariſe from an avowal of their determination to interfere in future caſes of this ſort, thought it right to ſend out inſtructions, that if, in certain caſes which they ſpecified, any neighbouring native ſhould be unjuſtly ſold hereafter as a ſlave, either to or by any Britiſh ſubject, the Governor and Council were to conſider themſelves authorized to pay the price of ſuch perſon's redemption, if no other means of reſtoring the captive to liberty ſhould be afforded. The communication of this intelligence to ſeveral of the neighbouring chiefs, is ſaid to have given conſiderable ſatiſfaction.

The Directors having thus ſpoken of the ſteps which they have taken tending to preſcribe ſome limits to the Slave Trade, and either to prevent or remedy a few of its greater enormities, ſo far as concerns the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, will proceed next to deſcribe ſome of the direct efforts which they have made to ſet on foot plans of Cultivation and induſtry, and to prepare the way for the introduction of Chriſtianity and Civilization into thoſe parts of

of Africa where they have any influence. The obſtacles which the Slave Trade has preſented to the deſigns of the Company, will again neceſſarily appear in treating of this topic.

It is obvious that one of the moſt effectual means of promoting the Civilization of Africa, muſt be that of attempting to gain over ſome of the principal kings or chiefs, to this great cauſe. If any chief ſituated in the neighbourhood of fertile land, over which he has an undiſputed right, and having already grumettas under him, could be perſuaded to turn the labour of his people to the regular cultivation of the ſoil; if he could be induced for inſtance, to take an European planter into his ſervice, and to commit to him the direction of ſuch induſtry as the chief could command; if he could be perſuaded alſo to protect and entertain a ſchool-maſter, or miſſionary, who might converſe freely with the chief, and become an inſtructor of all the ſurrounding people, a friendly connection and intercourſe being at the ſame time eſtabliſhed between the native in queſtion and the Sierra Leone government; it can hardly be doubted that, under the auſpices of any well-diſpoſed African uniting theſe advantages, the work of Civilization might advance with a rapid ſtep.

The Directors will here ſtate the ſeveral obſtacles to the adoption of any plan of cultivation by the native chiefs, which, under the

the present circumstances of Africa, must naturally be expected to arise.

It has been already noticed, that the kings and head-men in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone universally deal in slaves. Many private slave-traders have raised themselves into chiefs by means of this traffic, and all the more regular chiefs have become more or less dealers in slaves also; the difference between a chief, or king, who is also a slave-trader, and a slave-trader who has raised himself into a chief, being principally this, that the king is the less powerful of the two, and is commonly also in debt to an European factory, to which he is therefore subservient; whereas the slave-trader is often rich and independent, having many head-men in his debt, who are consequently reduced into subjection to him. The difficulty of interesting the African chiefs in schemes of cultivation, is a point on which it cannot be necessary therefore to dwell; for it is obvious that, generally speaking, neither a king who is in league with a slave-factor, nor a chief who has acquired all that he has by the Slave Trade, can be expected to become the patron of a plan which has for its object the introduction of industry and the reformation of the manners of Africa. And indeed it may be added, that the Slave Trade presents, both to the chiefs and the inferior dealers, profits often so tempting, and attended also with so little trouble, that habits of regular application

application and labour ſeem not likely to be general in Africa, till this trade ſhall ceaſe. On the other hand it may be important to remark, that the Slave Trade has ſerved to initiate the natives into the uſe of European articles, ſome of which are conſidered among them even as neceſſaries of life. The taſte which has been thus created, may therefore be reaſonably expected to operate as an effectual ſpur to induſtry, as ſoon as ever that æra ſhall arrive, when Africa ſhall be required to give the produce of her land and labour, inſtead of her inhabitants themſelves, in payment for theſe neceſſaries from Europe.

The large credits given in the Slave Trade may be mentioned alſo as an obſtacle to any ſudden dereliction of it, ſince they render it very difficult for thoſe chiefs who might be diſpoſed to turn their thoughts to cultivation to call in their capital.

The prejudices which many native chiefs at firſt imbibed againſt the Company, may be named as another hindrance to the adoption of any plans of cultivation ſuggeſted to them. The chiefs appear to have been taught to believe, that the Sierra Leone Company were about to become the general diſturbers of the peace, by changing the cuſtoms of Africa; that they intended to uſurp the power of the chiefs, and, in the end, to drive them from their own territory; and, in particular, it ſeems to have been reported every where, to be one immediate

object

object of the Company, to encourage ſlaves of all deſcriptions to run away from their maſters, by offering them an aſylum in the ſettlement. It is obvious that this impediment to a good underſtanding with the chiefs, is to be conſidered as merely temporary.

Such are the obſtacles which might have been naturally expected to oppoſe, and which have in fact more or leſs oppoſed, every attempt made by the Company to intereſt the African chiefs in plans of civilization and induſtry. They are obſtacles however, which, though many of them ſtill operate with the natives in general, have been overcome in ſeveral individual inſtances, as the Directors will have the ſatisfaction of ſhewing.

The circumſtances which have enabled the Company occaſionally to prevail over ſo many formidable hindrances are not difficult to be explained. It may be remarked in the firſt place, that there are a few natives of ſome conſequence in Africa, who, though they owe their riſe to the Slave Trade, never carried it on to any great extent themſelves, but are the ſucceſſors of deceaſed ſlave-traders, and are growing now leſs and leſs diſpoſed to puſh that dangerous and bloody traffic, by which their property has been acquired. This is one deſcription of chiefs from among whom the Company may be expected to make proſelytes. To theſe may be added as many other ſlave-traders, or chiefs, (and they are likely to amount, in courſe of time, to

no ſmall number in the whole) who may happen to be thrown into ſome diſtreſs through the Slave Trade; who may loſe a near relation or a friend through this traffic; or poſſibly having been redeemed from a ſlave-ſhip themſelves, may become affected by the conſideration of having narrowly eſcaped that fate to which they are in the habit of conſigning others. Circumſtances have already occurred at Sierra Leone, which have led the Directors to expect that ſome converts to the cauſe of the Company may, from time to time, be gained from perſons coming under this deſcription. Again, there may be other Africans who may be induced, partly at leaſt by higher principles, to favour the Company; who may be led, in ſome meaſure, ſeriouſly to contemplate the miſeries which the Slave Trade has brought upon their unhappy country, and may be prevailed upon, if a fair opening be afforded them, and the ſacrifice required of them be not too great, to become the inſtruments of rendering the place of their own reſidence a ſcene of order and peaceful induſtry. Laſtly, there may be ſome African kings, or chiefs, who, ſtruck with the improvements which they may have beheld at Freetown, or having been induced perhaps to viſit England, may return animated with the deſire of imparting the bleſſings they have witneſſed, to their native country; who may be induced, poſſibly by embracing Chriſtian principles, to devote their

their lives to the caufe, and may ftand forward as the chief promoters of the Civilization of Africa, and the zealous friends of the Company.

That one or other of the principles alluded to has actually operated on the minds of feveral very confiderable chiefs, will be feen by the recitals which will now be given to the Court.

The Directors will introduce firft, a quotation from the journal of one of their fervants already frequently reforted to, which will defcribe an interview held with a neighbouring chief, about a year after the inftitution of the colony.

"Having received fome intimation of the
" prejudices againft us fubfifting in the mind
" of this chief, I began my converfation
" with obferving, that I feared our engage-
" ments at home in the care of our infant
" colony, might have afforded time for in-
" terefted men to fpread abroad many re-
" ports to our difadvantage: that it was true
" we were not friends to the Slave Trade, but
" that our plan was peaceably to draw the
" natives from it, by fetting before them
" other fources of wealth, and opening their
" eyes to their own true interefts. He was,
" to a certain degree, civil and polite in his
" replies, but at firft evidently far from
" cordial; he allowed that we had many
" enemies, and that he had been a good deal
" alarmed for his property. I then explained
" feveral

" several parts of our conduct, which I
" found had been grossly misrepresented;
" and assured him, in particular, that it was
" not in the least our purpose to decoy slaves
" from their masters (as he understood it was
" our principle to do), and that if we did
" not seize and deliver them up when they
" run away to our settlement, yet we would
" neither willingly shelter them, nor give
" them employment. I offered education at
" Sierra Leone to any of his young people,
" and hinted that a seminary might be set
" up at his own place of residence, if he
" wished it. I then urged him to turn the
" labour of his grumettas to the object of
" cultivation, entering into long calculations
" upon it, and proceeded to set before him
" the many advantages he would derive from
" having his lands covered with cotton and
" coffee, instead of their being depopulated
" as heretofore by the Slave Trade. He
" was very inquisitive on this subject, and
" appeared rather to approve the plan, ex-
" pressing however a doubt whether he
" should find a market for his produce: I
" answered, that we would make an agree-
" ment to take it off his hands at a certain
" price. The conversation ended by his
" observing that my explanation was satis-
" factory, and that he wished success to
" the Company. I walked afterwards over
" some of the land of this chief, the soil of
" which is excellent: cotton grows in great

" abundance

" abundance, and the true indigo is ſeen in " ſeveral places."

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of adding, that the diſpoſition of this perſon to quit the Slave Trade and betake himſelf to cultivation, appears, by recent advices, to have been conſiderably ſtrengthened; and ſome meaſures are ſtated to have been actually taken by him for this purpoſe. The obſtacles which have retarded the adoption of the ſuggeſtions made to him by the Company, have been preciſely ſuch as might be expected; namely, his outſtanding debts, which it has been found very difficult to get in, unleſs by accepting ſlaves in diſcharge of them; his experience of the profits of the Slave Trade, by which all his property has been gained, and his mind of courſe to a certain degree influenced; and his temporary prejudices againſt the Company. On the other hand, the humanity for which this African is diſtinguiſhed, the growing liberality of his views, and above all perhaps the reduction which there has lately been in the demand for ſlaves through the war, as well as the late failure of mercantile credit in this country, ſeem at length to have operated on his mind ſo effectually, as to turn the balance in favour of a ſyſtem of cultivation.

Another obſervation, to the praiſe of this reſpectable African, ſeems proper to be added. It might naturally be preſumed from the cir-

cumſtances

cumſtances which have been ſtated, that at the time when he followed the Slave Trade, he would be likely to exerciſe as much humanity as could eaſily be made compatible with the proſecution of ſuch a commerce; and that he would probably therefore confine his purchaſes to ſlaves fetched from a diſtance, giving protection to the people round him, even while he was inconſiderately encouraging the atrocities of the interior country. The truth of this preſumption is eſtabliſhed by cenſures caſt on him by the ſlave-traders. He is the very man (the ſucceſſor of the mulatto chief) who was charged by the Britiſh ſlave-captain with having made him wait ſo long for ſlaves, being afraid to "make a haul" of his people, as "the fine fellow," his predeceſſor, uſed to do; and whoſe town therefore, the Britiſh captain ſaid he would have ſeized, "if his ſhip had been well manned," in order to teach this African trader "a proper degree of ſpirit." His want of the due qualifications for the Slave Trade has been likewiſe intimated by a Britiſh factor reſident in that part; for when the latter was aſked, "Does the ſucceſſor of the mulatto ſlave-trader take the ſame means of recovering debts (namely, by laying waſte the towns of his debtor) which his predeceſſor did?" The anſwer was, "*No, he is too eaſy.*" The Directors find in the journal ſent home, a teſtimony from the mouth of a third Britiſh ſubject, no leſs to the praiſe of

 this

this African, the degree of peace and ſecurity which his mildneſs has introduced into the country round him, being intimated in words to the following purport: " I remember the " time (ſaid this ſlave-factor who dwelt on " a neighbouring iſland,) when, if I diſ- " patched a grumetta up the country with " goods equal in value to one ſlave, I was " ſure to have him back with a couple of " ſlaves in return for them within ſix days: " but it will now take as many weeks to get " the ſame number of ſlaves; and yet I am " obliged to give more money for my ſlaves " than ever."

The Sierra Leone Company owe the ſucceſs they have met with, throughout the diſtrict they have now been ſpeaking of, partly to the war, and partly to the remembrance of the miſeries inflicted in the time of the mulatto ſlave-trader. They have derived a ſimilar benefit from ſome recent experience of the bitter conſequences of the Slave Trade in the following caſe:

A Mahometan chief has been mentioned, who redeemed from a ſlave-ſhip three of the free ſettlers from London, and who came down to the ſettlement with the view of obtaining the Company's aſſiſtance, in the recovery of a free-boy detained for a debt by a ſlave-factor. The following obſervations made by this Mahometan may properly be added in this place.

" He

" He ſaid, that he had been taught to
" look on this ſettlement with a jealous eye,
" and had therefore hitherto avoided all
" intercourſe with us, but that ſome recent
" misfortunes brought on him by the ma-
" chinations of ſlave-traders, ſome of which
" he particularized, added to what he had
" lately learnt reſpecting our conduct, had
" made him ſuſpect the truth of what he had
" been uſed to hear concerning us, and that
" he was come to have his doubts cleared
" up. After ſome general converſation, he
" applied to me in the moſt earneſt manner
" for my aſſiſtance in the recovery of
" Famarah, (a very conſiderable and diſtin-
" guiſhed chief, carried off the coaſt ſome
" time ſince as a ſlave,) who had been his
" intimate friend, and for whom he felt
" deeply concerned. He afterwards ſpoke
" to me of the favourite free-boy, whom he
" had juſt loſt, and by way of inducing me
" to exert myſelf in the recovery of theſe
" captives, he named his own interference in
" the redemption of our free ſettlers, for
" which he obſerved that he had been much
" blamed as well as laughed at by the ſlave-
" traders. Though I could give him little
" hope of being able to recover either of
" theſe two perſons, through the difficulty
" of tracing them, he went away pleaſed on
" the whole with his viſit. He was par-
" ticularly gratified by going with me to ſee
" the ſchools; ' If I were a younger man,

 " ſaid

" ſaid he, I ſhould ſtay here always; but, " as it is, I ſhall ſend my children.' He " alſo ſpoke of his having been driven, " through the arts of a Britiſh ſlave-trader, " to the neceſſity of quitting his native place " of reſidence; but obſerved, that he lived " now in a country affording ſome produce, " which he ſhould be happy to collect for " us. I was much intereſted both by the " converſation and manners of this viſitor, " who is about ſixty years old, of a good " appearance, with much benevolence in his " countenance. His mind, which is na- " turally ſagacious, being now bowed down " by his misfortunes, is more open to re- " ceive impreſſions unfavourable to the Slave " Trade than that of moſt of his country- " men, and I truſt we ſhall attach him to " us."

The Directors will next add a very encouraging account of an interview with another chief.

" I waited on the chief of this river, who " is a perſon of conſiderable conſequence; " for though there are three kings in the " neighbourhood, he is ſaid to poſſeſs a " powerful influence over them, and to have " had the nomination of them all. I was " ſurpriſed by the appearance of a man about " ninety years old, ſtill ſenſible and active. " I acquainted him with the motives of my " viſit, and the general principles of the " Sierra Leone Company. He entered very

" readily

" readily into our views, aſſured me that he
" would take our traders under his protec-
" tion, and alſo favour us in reſpect to the
" cuſtoms of his river: he promiſed to ſend
" one of his boys to the ſettlement for edu-
" cation, and expreſſed an intention of viſit-
" ing it himſelf in the enſuing dry ſeaſon.
" He alſo offered protection to a miſſionary,
" or ſchoolmaſter, if we would ſend him
" one, and ſaid he would take care to make
" his ſituation comfortable. I have met with
" no one of the natives more liberal in his
" views, or more clear in his ideas and manner
" of converſation. He has diveſted himſelf
" wonderfully of all the African prejudices,
" ridicules without ſcruple the ſuperſtition of
" his countrymen, and particularly inveighs
" againſt the cuſtom of ſacrificing to the
" devil, who, ſaid he, 'muſt be himſelf a
" creature of God.' Although occaſionally
" engaged in the Slave Trade, he ſeems to
" rejoice in the proſpect of its abolition.
" Some years ago his town was deſtroyed by
" the mulatto ſlave-trader, and many of his
" people were carried into captivity; he ſtill
" waits an opportunity of revenging himſelf.
" ——We have ſuggeſted to him the follow-
" ing propoſition; that he ſhould build on
" an iſland of his a houſe for a factory, and
" a rice-houſe, veſting in us the right of
" poſſeſſion, and that he ſhould furniſh to a
" planter, whom we might ſend thither,
" labourers enough to clear and plant the

" whole of the iſland. I think it is likely
" that our propoſal will be complied with,
" and that a magazine may conſequently be
" eſtabliſhed for the produce of the neigh-
" bouring country, which is very rich, a-
" bounding with rice, ſtock, and camwood.
" If a ſchoolmaſter, or miſſionary, ſhould
" ſettle on the ſpot propoſed for the planta-
" tion, he would of courſe find a conſider-
" able population around it, provided the
" cultivation ſhould be carried on with ſpirit;
" and he would alſo be within one or two
" hours diſtance of ſeveral of the moſt popu-
" lous villages in theſe parts, to which he
" might occaſionally migrate."

A very favourable ſpecimen of the African character, and a moſt pleaſing proof of the practicability of introducing various European improvements into that continent, are afforded by the following incident:

" A ſhip of ours arrived lately from the
" river Gambia, with five natives in her;
" one of them, of the name of Cuddy, is a
" chief, and principal trader reſiding there;
" his figure and appearance are very pre-
" poſſeſſing and ſingular; he is well made,
" and about ſix feet three inches high: his
" manners are civil and unconſtrained, and
" his face is the picture of benevolence. He
" is at the ſame time modeſt and diffident,
" and afraid of ſaying a word by which he
" may offend againſt the truth. He was
" dreſſed after the faſhion of his country,
" and

" and was uncommonly neat and clean, but
" despised finery. He has risen much in
" my esteem during the fourteen days which
" he has just been passing in my house, and
" all the officers of the Company, as well as
" the settlers, have been uncommonly pleased
" with him. The circumstance in his cha-
" racter which gratified me the most, was,
" that whatever he saw, he seemed to con-
" template chiefly with the view of turning
" it to the advantage of his country. He
" has been using the greatest assiduity to
" prevail on some of the Nova Scotia settlers
" to accompany him back to the Gambia,
" in order that they may instruct his country-
" men in their arts; and has succeeded in
" procuring a good carpenter to go with
" him, who is to build him a house, and
" make him some ploughs and utensils for
" husbandry. The carpenter understands
" making looms also, and Cuddy has it much
" at heart to introduce a broad loom among
" his people. He has persuaded another
" man to embark with him, who under-
" stands ploughing, and can make shingles,
" and other useful articles. Cuddy having
" long entertained a predilection for the
" Company, has always shewn great kind-
" ness to their servants, when they have
" been in the Gambia, and he has built a
" little town on the sloop side of that river,
" to which he has given the name of Sierra
" Leone. Being curious in natural pro-

 " ductions,

" ductions, he shewed to our botanist seve-
" ral plants growing here which are useful
" in dying, and in particular a tree which
" is used in the Gambia for making the
" indigo more durable."

The Directors will in the next place treat more particularly of the interior country. The chief information which they shall offer on this subject, will be comprized in a narrative of a journey lately undertaken into a large neighbouring kingdom by two of the Company's servants.* The Directors have not introduced into the preceding parts of this Report any article of intelligence gained in this expedition, since they conceived it to be desirable that all the chief circumstances relating to it should be presented at one view to the Court.

Information having been brought to the Governor and Council by some natives of

* It may be proper to remark, that the account of this expedition, as well as a variety of other matter introduced into this and the preceding chapter, was not inserted in the Report read to the Proprietors. Advices from Sierra Leone, dated the 6th of September, 1794, had been received at the time of sending the present Report to the press, which have furnished much additional intelligence. These recent accounts are in almost every respect more favourable than any which had preceded: they convey, nevertheless, information of a disturbance having arisen in the colony, through the violence of some of the most disaffected and mischievous of the Nova Scotians; but the ringleaders having been taken up, or having left the settlement, and the utmost tranquillity prevailing at the time when the last dispatches came away, which were dated seven or eight weeks subsequent to the tumult, the government appear to be fully persuaded that there is no reason to apprehend any permanent or material ill consequences.

the

the Foulah country, that the king of the Foulahs, a large and powerful nation, § to the north-east of Sierra Leone, had expressed a desire to form an intercourse with the colony, two gentlemen in the Company's service ‡ offered to make an attempt to penetrate through a large, and as yet unknown tract of country, to his capital. They accordingly failed to the river Rionunes, which is to the north of Sierra Leone, obtained the necessary interpreters and guides at the town of Kocundy, which lies a considerable way up the river, and then set out on foot in a party of about twenty persons. They mention, with much thankfulness, their obligations to some slave-traders in the neighbourhood of Kocundy, and in particular to a mulatto trader, who was of considerable use to them in their setting out.

It appeared in a short time after their leaving the Rionunes, that a considerable intercourse subsisted between the interior country and the upper parts of the river; for no less than five or six hundred Foulahs were often seen in one day, carrying great loads of rice and ivory on their backs, which they were about to exchange for salt. The travellers

§ There appear to be several independent tribes or nations of Foulahs in Africa, of which this is probably one of the most considerable.

‡ The Persons who made this expedition were Mr. James Watt, already spoken of, and Mr. Winterbottom, brother to Dr. Winterbottom, the physician to the colony.

found

found as they went forward, a number of ſucceſſive towns, diſtant in general ſix, eight, or ten miles from each other, in which they were always moſt hoſpitably received; the utmoſt ſatisfaction as well as ſurprize being expreſſed at the appearance of white men, of whom none had ever been ſeen even at the diſtance of a few days journey from the coaſt. After travelling for ſixteen days, through a country barren in many parts but fruitful in others, and remarkably full of cattle, and after paſſing two or three ſmall rivers, one of which was ſaid to empty itſelf into the river Gambia, they arrived at the town of Laby, which is diſtant about two hundred miles, almoſt directly eaſtward or inland, from that part of the river Rionunes from which they ſet out on foot. Here they ſpent three or four days, being moſt cordially received by the chief or king of the place, who is ſubordinate to the king of the Foulahs. Laby is about two miles and a half in circumference, and is ſuppoſed to contain not leſs than five thouſand inhabitants: the ſtate of civilization is much the ſame here as in the farther part, which will be deſcribed ſhortly. From Laby they proceeded towards the capital of the Foulah kingdom, called Teembo, which is ſeventy-two miles further inland, and having experienced every where the ſame hoſpitality, they arrived there in the courſe of another week.

During fourteen days which they paſſed in

in the capital, they had many converſations, through the medium of interpreters, both with the king and with a perſon who acts as deputy to the king in his abſence, and with many other principal perſons. It appears that the country ſubject to the king of the Foulahs, is about three hundred and fifty miles in length, from eaſt to weſt, and about two hundred miles in breadth, from north to ſouth; and that the king exerciſes a very arbitrary power, both in reſpect to the puniſhment of offences, and many other points, and, in particular, that he opens and ſhuts up the markets and channels of trade juſt as he pleaſes. The town of Teembo is ſuppoſed to contain about ſeven thouſand inhabitants, and the ſuperiority of the people of all theſe interior parts, to thoſe on the coaſt, is great, in moſt branches of civilization. The houſes here and at Laby, as well as at ſome other places, are occaſionally ſpoken of in the journals from which this narrative is taken, as very good. The ſilver ornaments worn by ſome of the chief women, are ſaid to be equal in value to 20l. There are people at Laby and at Teembo, who work in iron, in ſilver, in wood, and in leather, and there is a manufacture of narrow cloths. The chief men are furniſhed with books, of which the ſubject is generally either divinity or law; and the art of reading is common over the country, there being ſchools for the inſtruction of children eſtabliſhed

ed in almoſt every town. Horſes are commonly uſed by the chief people, who are ſaid to ride out often for their amuſement, and a ſpecies of horſe-race or courſing occurred, at which the king invited the two ſtrangers to attend. The ſoil is generally ſtony; much of it is paſture; rice is cultivated in ſome parts, chiefly by the labour of the women, the men, a great proportion of whom are ſlaves, carrying away the produce on their backs. About one-third of the country is ſaid to be extremely fertile; the ſoil is dry, and the climate is thought very good. The nights and mornings were ſometimes cold, and the thermometer was once as low as 51 at half paſt five in the morning, but it roſe to near 90 at noon. The profeſſed religion of the country is Mahometaniſm, and there are many moſques; but neither the prieſts nor people appear to have much bigotry in their minds, though they do not fail to obſerve the Mahometan ceremonies, praying five times a day. The puniſhments which the king inflicts are ſevere, eſpecially in the caſe of diſreſpect ſhewn to his own authority; but it appears that no Foulahs are ever ſold as ſlaves either for debts or crimes, and kidnapping ſeldom occurs, being probably not very practicable in the heart of the country. The Foulahs however have been uſed, till lately, to carry on a very conſiderable Slave Trade by means of their wars; for they go to war avowedly for the purpoſe

of

of getting ſlaves, one of the tenets of their religion, which permits them to deſtroy all whom they term infidels (a term which ſeems to include all their neighbours),' affording them a convenient apology for every exerciſe of this horrible injuſtice. The ſervants of the Company appear to have loſt no opportunity of inveighing againſt the wickedneſs of theſe wars, and of inculcating the principles which govern the Sierra Leone Company on the minds both of the king, the chief prieſts, and other principal perſons, as the following paſſages from one of the journals will ſufficiently prove.

" In the morning I had a viſit from the " deputy king, who told me with a degree " of openneſs which ſhocked me, that the " ſole object of their wars was to procure " ſlaves, as they could not obtain the Euro- " pean goods they wanted without ſlaves, " and they could not get ſlaves without fight- " ing for them. I mentioned rice, ivory, " and cattle, but he anſwered that they could " not obtain a ſufficient ſupply of the articles " they moſt needed, in return for produce, " ſince the factories would not furniſh them " with guns, powder, and cloth, which they " conſidered as the chief neceſſaries, for any " thing except ſlaves. I told him, that by " following a trade in produce, they might " become rich without going to war for " ſlaves, a thing which muſt certainly be " very offenſive to that God to whom they

" prayed

" prayed five times a day. " But these peo-
" ple on whom we make war, returned he,
" never pray to God: we do not go to war
" with people who give God Almighty ser-
" vice."

In an interview with the king himself the following conversation occurred:

" After having stated the views of the " Sierra Leone Company, I took the liberty " of remarking how wicked it was for one " nation to destroy another. If these people, " said I, have not so much knowledge as " you have, you should endeavour to in- " struct them. There were present besides " the king, the head priest and the chief " minister, and they all suffered me to pro- " ceed without interruption; I was surprized " at their attention; they all acknowledged " the truth of what I said, and the king ob- " served, that if he could get guns and pow- " der and every thing else he wanted, for " ivory, rice, and cattle, he would soon have " done with the Slave Trade. I told him, " that if once the people of Africa knew the " Sierra Leone Company perfectly, I was " sure the wars would cease, and the nations " of Africa would be at peace with their " neighbours. They all said, they believed " so too."

The following is the substance of a conversation which occurred the day after:

" I waited on a head-man who had desired " to see me: I found him writing, but he " quickly

" quickly laid aſide his work. I had much
" converſation with him ſimilar to that which
I held with the king the night before. He
" defended for ſome time their religious wars,
but at laſt rather yielded, admitting that
" they muſt be diſpleaſing to God: he ſtill
" ſaid, however, that their book deſired them
" to make war on every nation who would
" not do God ſervice. I replied, that there
" might be many good things in their book,
" but that I was ſure that paſſage had been
" put in by the devil. God was ſo good
" and merciful himſelf, that he muſt hate
" every one that was ſo cruel as to deſtroy
" his fellow creatures. The head-man did
" not heſitate to ſay, that if the Foulahs
" could get the articles they wanted without
" going to war, he would then believe that
" going to war was offenſive to God; but,
" ſaid he, if we cannot get theſe things
" without going to war for them, God then
" cannot be angry with us for going to war,
" eſpecially as it is ſo in our book."

One other circumſtance reſpecting the Slave Trade, more lamentable than any which the Directors have yet mentioned, muſt be added in this place. The deputy of the king, after ſtating that the wars of the Foulahs were undertaken ſolely for the purpoſe of getting ſlaves, ſaid alſo, "*that the old men and old*
"*women who were captured in theſe wars,*
"*and who were known to be unſaleable, were*
"*put to death.*" Theſe are the words uſed

in-

in the journal of * one of the Company's ſervants; the journal of the other repreſents the deputy of the king as ſaying, that the Foulahs "*cut the throats*" of the older captives, and it proceeds to mention, that when the cruelty of the practice was inveighed againſt, he replied, that it was not ſo cruel as letting the old people ſtarve to death, adding alſo, that the nations on which they made war, would not ſcruple to do the ſame.

That this enormous effuſion of blood is another evil, in addition to thoſe before enumerated, which is directly chargeable on the Slave Trade, the ſeveral quotations now given ſeem completely and diſtinctly to prove; and on the other hand, that no ſimilar effuſion of blood can be ſuppoſed to happen, even among the ſame people, in the caſe of able-bodied ſlaves returned or withheld for want of a market, the recital of the following circumſtances will ſhew no leſs indiſputably.

It has been already noticed, that by the breaking out of the war with France, a very great and ſudden check was given to the Slave Trade on the coaſt. It appears from the journals of this expedition, that the influence of the European war was no leſs ſtrongly felt in theſe interior regions. The wars of Teembo ceaſed about this period: the price of ſlaves at the ſea-ſide, fell from 160 to 120 bars. The king of the Foulahs in order to

* Mr. Watt.

bring

bring the ſlave-traders to terms, forbade all his ſubjects to carry ſlaves to the coaſt, until 160 bars ſhould again be offered, and the conſequence of the ſlaves having been thus withheld (a few ſmuggled ones excepted) is ſtated in the journal to be, that the Foulah country had become full of them.*

It has been mentioned in one part of the preceding body of information concerning the Slave Trade, that the Foulahs (who were at the ſame time alſo ſtated to be known to go to war for ſlaves) were often kidnapped before they could return from carrying their captives down to the factories, by the free-booters who infeſt the coaſt. This intelligence is confirmed by the following incident, which, however, is not the only one occurring in this journey that might ſerve to eſtabliſh the ſame point.

An old man called on the travellers when they were at Teembo, and begged them to make inquiry after his ſon, who with ſix others, ſome of them relations of the king, had been ſeized in returning from the river Riopongas, about four years ago. They had been ſold to the Britiſh ſlave-factor at the Iſles de Los, and immediately ſhipped off, one only excepted, to the Weſt Indies: by the Foulah king's interference this one was recovered: the old man ſaid, there was no ranſom that he ſhould not be willing to pay

* The journal indicates, though not very diſtinctly, that they were put to work.

for his ſon.* The writer of the journal adds, "I aſſured him, that the Governor of Sierra "Leone would feel almoſt as much pleaſure "in reſtoring his ſon, as the father himſelf "could feel in ſeeing him return, and that "we ſhould ſpare no pains in inquiring after "him. At hearing me ſay this, the old man's "eyes gliſtened, and he left me, bleſſing both "the governor and myſelf, and aſſuring me "that he ſhould pray for me."

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that the two travellers appear both by the propriety and conſiſtency of their own conduct, and by the public declarations which they made of the principles which governed the conduct of the Sierra Leone Company, to have ingratiated themſelves much with the natives, and to have peculiarly poſſeſſed themſelves of the confidence of the chief people. The king being aſked whether he ſhould be willing to encourage any European to ſettle near him with a view to cultivation, readily anſwered, that he would furniſh him with land, and cattle, and men for the purpoſe. Much converſation paſſed at different times concerning the introduction of the plough, of which no one had ever heard in the Foulah country. The king of Laby offered to

* Two of the perſons ſold are ſaid to have borne the name of Omar, another is called Hamadoo, and another Bubarcarrie; two others are mentioned under the name of Hamodoo, one of whom was the ſon of this old man. The Directors have introduced their names with a view of promoting their redemption.

ſend

ſend a ſon to England for education, and a principal prieſt expreſſed ſome willingneſs to do the ſame. Diligent inquiry was made both at Laby and Teembo, concerning the route to Tombuctoo, a town in the heart of Africa, ſuppoſed to be of the firſt magnitude, to which ſome adventurers from the Aſſociation inſtituted for promoting Diſcoveries in the interior of Africa, have attempted to penetrate. It was ſaid at Laby that a free communication ſubſiſted with Tombuctoo, of which the diſtance however was deſcribed to be no leſs than a four months journey; ſix kingdoms intervening between the country of the Foulah king and that of the king of Tombuctoo.* The kingdom of Genah, the neareſt of the ſix to Tombuctoo, and that of Tombuctoo itſelf, were ſpoken of as richer than any of the others that were named. The city of Caſhna ſeems alſo to have been known at Laby, but the route thither was deſcribed as hazardous.

On leaving Teembo, the Company's ſervants thought proper to return by a different and rather more dangerous path; they were eſcorted however by a large body of Foulahs, ſent at the command of the king; the number of theſe amounting, during part of the journey, to no leſs than five or ſix hundred. When this body of people arrived on the borders of

* The neareſt to the Foulah kingdom is Belia, the ſecond Bouria, the third Manda, the fourth Segoo, the fifth Sooſundoo, the ſixth Genah.

the Susee country, which it was necessary for the travellers to cross in order to reach the sea by this path, a suspicion arose on the part of the Susees, that the Foulahs were come to make war against them, under the pretext of conducting white men to the coast; on which occasion the Foulahs exhibited to the Susees some goods and slaves which they had with them, as a proof that they could have no design of making war, and succeeded in removing the suspicion; insomuch that it was determined at a meeting of Susee chiefs, held in a neighbouring town of the Susees, not only that the travellers, and the party with them who wished to proceed to Sierra Leone, should be permitted to pass, but also that the path through the Susee country, which former wars had shut, should become permanently open.

Four or five considerable persons from the Foulah king, and from other kings and chiefs, together with their suite, came down to Freetown with the white travellers and passed a few days there, arranged some plans with a view to a commercial intercourse, and returned full of admiration of what they had seen, and gratified in the highest degree by their visit. It has since been learnt that the Foulahs who came on this embassy, have got back to the borders of the Foulah kingdom, where their countrymen who came to meet them were so much interested at the first recital of what had been heard and seen at Sierra Leone,

Leone, that the party were kept together in conversation till day-break.

The success attending the journey which has been just described, has encouraged the idea of another and more important enterprize, upon which one of the travellers into the Foulah country, and another person in the service of the Company, were, according to the last accounts, likely soon to enter. Their main object will be to penetrate to Tombuctoo, and the route taken will probably be that of the Foulah country. If the travellers should reach Tombuctoo, it will depend on the information which they will there receive, whether they shall trace back their steps southward to Teembo and Sierra Leone, or shall return directly westward towards the Gambia, or attempt to pass on through the middle of the continent of Africa, to the Mediterranean.

The Directors have had the satisfaction of learning, not only that wars have ceased in the parts near to Sierra Leone, since the stagnation of the demand for slaves; but that distant places on the coast, having felt the same declension of the Slave Trade, have also enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. The very respectable and intelligent native of the name of Cuddy, from the distant river Gambia, mentioned, when he was at Freetown, that there were no longer any wars in any part of his neighbourbood, and that the few

ſlaves ſold there, the number of whom was diminiſhing daily, came from the remote country of Gallam. He is ſaid to have added the following words: "What ſhould a man "go to war for now? There is nothing to "make people go to war: no price for ſlaves "—no ſhip to take them—no goods to give "for them! Suppoſe ſhips come plenty, "aye, then people go to war again!"

The declenſion of the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, appears from many proofs to have been very great. The Governor and Council ſuppoſe, that not more than one-fifth of the uſual number of ſlaves are now carried off the adjacent Coaſt. The French ſlave-factory near Freetown has been already mentioned to be relinquiſhed, and an individual Britiſh ſlave-factor has been alſo ſtated to have removed himſelf from Sierra Leone river. One of the chief neighbouring factories, ſituated in the Iſles de Los, is on the point of being given up alſo. The ſlave-factory of Bance Iſland, the only one remaining either in the river Sierra Leone or in its immediate neighbourhood, is thought to apply itſelf more than formerly to the collection of produce, having alſo ſet on foot a cotton plantation, worked by native labourers, a meaſure which the inſtitution of the Sierra Leone Company appears to have ſuggeſted. A ſlave-factor, of the name of Wilkinſon, has declared that he will quit the trade, and has aſked leave to transfer his property

property (amounting to about two thousand pounds) to Freetown, offering to conform himself to all the laws of the colony, if he should be permitted to settle there. *

The Governor and Council appear to have taken some pains in inquiring what has been done with the slaves who have either been withheld or returned through the want of purchasers, and what would be likely to be their fate on a total abolition of the Slave Trade. A respectable chief from Port Logo, an upper branch of the Sierra Leone river, being asked whether refused prisoners were killed, he answered, "No, that is never done in Port Logo; we carry them home and make them work."—— "But will they not run away?"——"If they do, we can't help that, we can't kill them. If a man is too old to sell, he is too old to do you harm; what should you kill him for?"—— "Did you ever see any refused slaves killed?"—— "No; I am an old man, but I never saw that: if they do that in another country I don't know that."

"Two other intelligent native traders, "from the interior country, mentioned the "great number of slaves now on the coast "waiting for purchasers, and said they were "at that time kept confined: they named "one trader who had no less than two hun- "dred in his possession. On being asked

* This person is since dead.

 "why

" why they were not employed in cutting
" wood, planting rice, or ſome other em-
" ployment, he replied, that there might be
" danger of inſurrection from ſo many being
" employed all together, and that they muſt
" therefore firſt be diſperſed; beſides, there
" had been no encouragement to cut cam-
" wood: they could not tell what our com-
" mercial agent, who was gone down the
" coaſt, might be able to effect in this re-
" ſpect. If the Slave Trade were to continue
" at a ſtand, they obſerved, that no more
" ſlaves would come from the buſh (or in-
" terior country) and, indeed, that few came
" now. They ſaid that the ſlaves would
" certainly not be put to death, for that no-
" body was ever put to death except in war
" or for crimes."

" A white factor alſo is named, who gave
" information, that ſcarce any ſlaves have
" been bought for the ſpace of a year in that
" part of Africa which lies between Cape
" Vergo and Cape Mount, on account of
" the traders on the Coaſt having inſiſted
" that the price ſhould be reduced about ten
" or twelve pounds. He ſtated alſo, that
" the natives, exaſperated by the ſudden
" lowering of the terms, had lately withheld
" their ſlaves entirely, and had employed
" them, particularly in the Suſee and Man-
" dingo countries, in the culture of rice."

The Directors will now add ſome obſervations on the general character of the natives; and they will introduce in the ſequel ſome facts which will ſhew their friendly diſpoſitions towards the Company, and alſo their capacity for inſtruction.

The account which has been given of ſeveral natives who have been peculiarly inſtrumental in forwarding the views of the Company, ought by no means to be conſidered as affording a ſample of the common character of their countrymen. The natives of Africa, ſo far as the Directors have had an opportunity of judging, are, in general, ſuperſtitious in the higheſt degree; they believe in witchcraft, incantations, and charms, and they are hereby ſubjected to groſs impoſitions, and are alſo led to the practice of many acts of cruelty, as well as of injuſtice: ſome of them add a number of Mahometan, or other ſuperſtitions, to their own, which they learn chiefly from travelling prieſts of the Mahometan perſuaſion, who abound in Africa, and make a trade of ſelling charms. The natives of Sierra Leone, and all the adjacent parts, offer occaſional ſacrifices to the devil. They believe in a God, but they appear to render him no ſtated worſhip; and though they entertain ſome vague notions of a future ſtate, their faith ſeems to have very little influence on their practice. Polygamy is every where common, and the ſpirit of retaliation and revenge may be conſidered as

univerſal

universal. One of the most respectable and enlightened of the chiefs already mentioned, was said to be waiting for an opportunity of revenging an injury which he had received many years before, not from the man himself on whom he meant to wreak his vengeance, but from the predecessor of this person. It may be remarked of another individual, the most amiable perhaps of all the characters met with in the Foulah country, that after much conversation on the Christian religion, in the course of which he allowed it to be good in many respects, he expressly objected to the doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries, on the ground of its being a virtue not to be attained by man, and therefore not to be required of him. There are many varieties of national character among the Africans, some nations appearing to be more crafty, and some more uncivilized and savage, than others: nor can the distinctions among them be traced in all cases, either to the Slave Trade or to any local circumstances. The superiority of the natives of the Foulah country, and their great hospitality to strangers, have already sufficiently appeared; and on the other hand, it may be remarked, that the natives of the coast in general, but particularly those who live near the slave-factories, are much given to liquor, are suspicious of white men, crafty, and deceitful, as well as savage and ferocious: they are said likewise to be selfish, unreasonable, and encroaching.

In

In favour of the Africans it may be obſerved, that they are in general ſenſible of benefits received, and grateful for them; that they have much natural affection and feeling; that though occaſionally violent they are not unmanageable; and that the energies of their mind (which ſome accounts given of the cutting off of ſlave-ſhips have already ſhewn to be very ſtrong), though turned as yet to wrong objects, are capable no doubt of receiving a better direction. It may be added, that the Africans appear to be eager for knowledge, as well as religious improvement, and readily invite the teachers of Chriſtianity; but this readineſs, though it affords ample encouragement to the miſſionary, is obviouſly to be referred rather to a general principle of emulation and ambition, than to any approbation of the Chriſtian doctrines, of which the natives are as yet ignorant. They appear to admit the wickedneſs of the Slave Trade, as much as they do that of any other criminal practice, purſuing the traffic for the ſake of its profits, contrary to ſome glimmering light of their conſcience, if not in direct defiance of their convictions.

A few quotations ſhall here be given, illuſtrating certain points in their character which have been ſpoken of.

It has been mentioned in an early part of this Report, that a charge of having cauſed the death of the late king Naimbanna's ſon was brought againſt the captain of the Com-

pany's

pany's ſhip who carried him over, in conſequence of the groundleſs ſuggeſtion of a black. The following is a brief account of the circumſtances attending this injurious charge. The black from whoſe ſuggeſtion it originated, had croſſed the ſea in the ſame ſhip with king Naimbanna's ſon, and had been offended during the paſſage, by the captain's urging him to do duty as a ſailor; he had alſo ſeen the captain give ſome medicine to the patient, which was followed by a trifling ſickneſs of ſtomach. It is ſuppoſed that his ill will may have therefore prompted him to form ſome ſuſpicions to the prejudice of the captain, which were raſhly communicated after his arrival at Sierra Leone to the relations of the deceaſed. Incantations were immediately reſorted to, as the means of aſcertaining whether the charge ſuppoſed to lie againſt the captain was founded or not. The dead body was given into the hands of a ſkilful necromancer, and being placed in an erect poſture, it was ſucceſſively aſked, Whether the Sierra Leone Company — whether the governor—whether the phyſician—whether a ſervant of the Company who attended the patient, had cauſed his death. The corpſe continuing motionleſs, it was then aſked, whether the captain of the ſhip was the guilty perſon, on which the body is ſaid to have given a nod of aſſent. A threatening letter was now written in the name of the relations, to the Governor and

Council,

Council, in which compenſation was aſked for the murder, but it was handſomely intimated, that it was not the Company themſelves, but ſome of the ſlave-captains who were ſuppoſed to have inſtigated the Company's ſervant to put the ſon of the king of Sierra Leone to death. The Governor and Council did not fail to reſiſt the claim made upon them, but they were obliged to permit the calling of a palaver, at which a great concourſe of armed natives attended. The debate was opened with great ſolemnity in the name of the mother of the deceaſed, by a neighbouring chief, who delivered himſelf in the Timmany language, ſtopping to let each ſentence be interpreted as he went on. His ſpeech was nearly as follows:—That the queen (the mother of the deceaſed) had no palaver againſt the Company, had no palaver againſt the governor, had no palaver againſt ſeveral others who one by one were named; but that the queen had a palaver againſt the captain of the ſhip, becauſe he had poiſoned her ſon with a cup of tea while he was at ſea; that the queen demanded therefore the payment of 600 bars (near 100l.) which muſt be ſent her immediately, and on this condition ſhe would drop her intention of making war againſt the Company, and that the palaver would then be ended. It was added, that if the captain ſhould preſume to deny the crime now ſo clearly proved againſt him, he muſt be ſent up to the town of the

queen,

queen, in order to ſtand his trial by drinking red water,* according to the known laws of the Timmany country. The captain who was ſtanding by, evidently felt ſome emotion at hearing the laſt article of the demand; but a burſt of laughter ariſing at this moment among the natives who ſtood round, made it ſufficiently plain that they did not at all expect the captain's compliance. The Governor and Council inſiſted on calling evidence on the ſpot to remove the ſuſpicion. The black who had firſt excited it was brought forward, and explained away all his former inſinuations; the innocence of the captain was eſtabliſhed by many other witneſſes, and the natives became evidently aſhamed of their conduct; and on the following day the queen herſelf came down to Freetown, profeſſed the utmoſt confidence in the Governor and Council, and deſired them to take another ſon under their protection.†

It

* It has been already noticed, that this trial of red water conſiſts in making the ſuſpected perſon drink a quantity of water with an infuſion in it, which is ſuppoſed to be of a poiſonous kind. If the unhappy object of ſuſpicion is affected, as he often is, in a manner which the natives conſider to be an implication of guilt, his brains are knocked out on the ſpot; it often happens however that he dies, as in the inſtance before mentioned, of the immediate effects of the poiſon; in either of theſe caſes all his family are ſold as ſlaves. Natives of the higher claſs are ſaid frequently to ſurvive theſe trials, and it is ſuppoſed that they find means to prevent the poiſonous ingredient from being put into the water.

† The Directors wiſh not to fail in acknowledging any inſtance of friendly conduct in the ſlave-factories towards the

Company;

It is not eaſy to conceive how their imagination has been filled with extravagancies of the moſt weak and ridiculous kind. A notion is entertained that one of the iſlands in the river would ſink under water, if the king of the neighbouring ſhore were to ſet his foot upon it. Another little iſland higher up the ſtream, is ſuppoſed to be the habitation of a legion of devils, and if any man ſhould attempt to carry off from it the leaf of a tree, it is held, that his boat would infallibly ſink in coming away, and that he would be drowned.

The following quotation preſents a lamentable picture of extraordinary ſuperſtition and ignorance in the head-man of a neighbouring town.

"I waited on this perſon and found him
" at dinner, a king (or chief) of the upper
" country being at the table with him, and
" alſo a Mahometan prieſt, whom he and
" the other chiefs of the parts adjacent are
" now employing in making grigris (or
" charms), and in aſſiſting at their ſacrifices
" to the devil. After dinner the head-man
" produced his maſs book, and prayed for
" ſome time with ſeeming devotion; he ex-

Company; they are therefore deſirous of remarking, that on the occaſion of this injurious charge againſt their Captain, they were befriended by the Agent of the neighbouring Britiſh ſlave-factory; and they take this occaſion of adding, that they have in general experienced every civility from the proprietors of ſlave-factories *reſident in England.*

preſſed

“ preſſed great concern that he had not been
“ able to meet with a Popiſh confeſſor for
“ ſome years, but he told me of his having
“ left orders, that as ſoon as ever he ſhould
“ die, two of his ſlaves ſhould be ſent to St.
“ Jago, in order to urge the Romiſh prieſt
“ there, to do every thing that might be
“ neceſſary to ſmooth his way to heaven.
“ He makes no more doubt of the power of
“ a regular abſolution, than he does of his
“ exiſtence, and he appears well acquainted
“ with all the Romiſh ſuperſtitions; but his
“ tenets are ſtrangely diſguiſed by the union
“ of theſe with the abſurdities and idolatry
“ of his own country. He at the ſame time
“ ſaid, that he was very anxious to promote
“ the introduction of the goſpel into Africa,
“ and offered to engage in any plan that
“ would promote it; he propoſed to give a
“ houſe and land to any teacher or ſchool-
“ maſter that we might ſend, whom he told
“ me that he would take under his own pro-
“ tection. Amidſt all this ignorance, he
“ ſhewed a conſciouſneſs of the criminality
“ of the Slave Trade, having ſpoken to the
“ following effect on that ſubject: What
“ more have I to do with the Slave Trade;
“ it is time that I ſhould leave it off and ſet-
“ tle my account with God: I am old and
“ ought to think only of heaven.”

The ſeveral ſucceeding quotations will confirm ſome points already touched upon, and will very fully ſhew the deſire of inſtruction

which prevails among the natives, as well as the good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between them and the Company.

A female mulatto has been mentioned, the miſtreſs of a large town in the Mandingo country, who was once in England, and who paſſed a few days in the ſettlement. "She inquired much, when ſhe was there, "of the ſtate of ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, "and was much affected at hearing that "ſlavery was not confined to the captives "ſent off from Africa, but deſcended alſo to "their children; ſhe added, What muſt you "judge of me; you muſt think me very "bad, for I have juſt been taking two ſlaves "to the neighbouring factory, and I have "left them there; but I wiſh I could give "up the trade altogether."

It appears from ſome of the lateſt accounts, that the travellers, who went to the Foulah country, profited much on their return to Freetown by her civility, their route having lain through the town of which ſhe is miſtreſs. She has lately been learning the Arabic language, in order to extend her influence.

"During the palaver occaſioned by the "death of the king's ſon, which was recently "ſpoken of, ſome of the chiefs who had "come to Freetown on the occaſion, were "carried to ſee the ſchools, and were much "pleaſed with an appearance ſo novel to "them, as that of three or four hundred

" children engaged at their books. A head-
" man of ſuperior information, began im-
" mediately to enter into treaty with one of
" the teachers, wanting him to go up the
" country to inſtruct the youth of the town
" over which this head-man preſided." Some other applications almoſt exactly ſimilar are mentioned.

Three or four Nova Scotians are ſaid to be ſettled up the river, who have large plantations of rice, land having been given them gratuitouſly by the natives. One of this party of ſettlers is able to read, and a native who came down to Freetown, is noticed as having already, through his aſſiſtance, made ſome ſmall proficiency in learning to read alſo.

The following extract from the official letter of the Governor and Council, will ſhew the meaſures taken on their part, with the view of giving inſtruction to the natives, and alſo the ſucceſs which has followed.

" You will ſee by the directions given to
" all the maſters of our veſſels, that we have
" miſſed no opportunity of inviting all the
" chiefs on the neighbouring coaſt, to ſend
" their ſons hither for education, and the
" invitation has been uniformly received
" with expreſſions of ſatisfaction. A chief
" in the Rio Nunez has already ſent his ſon
" hither, and ſeveral others from different
" parts only wait the approaching dry ſea-
" ſon, to accept of our offers. In the towns
" belonging to the chiefs in this river, with

" whom

" whom we are connected, there are very
" few children fit to be sent to school; the
" few that are fit, we have now with us,
" and some of them make a considerable
" proficiency in reading. We have promises
" of many more from the chiefs in the Bunch
" and Kokelle, (the upper branches of the
" Sierra Leone river), who are to come to
" us in the course of the ensuing dry season.
" We had anticipated your advice with re-
" spect to a school at the plantation on the
" Bulam shore: one of the teachers has
" agreed to reside there with his family,
" both as missionary and schoolmaster; and the
" custom has become already universal among
" the labourers on that side, to abstain from
" work on Sunday." The Directors understand that there are now in the schools at Freetown, about twenty native children in all, a great proportion of whom are the sons of chiefs. It has been already noticed, that more than the same number of native children are under instruction on the Bulam side of the river.

The following very unhappy incident is mentioned with the view of shewing the remarkable confidence of one of the natives in the Company:—" Soon after the commence-
" ment of the war, some shells which had
" been sent out, were about to be prepared
" for use by the acting engineer, who or-
" dered a Nova Scotian working under him,
" to put them near the fire, in order that

 " they

" they might be dried. The Nova Scotian
" having done as he was deſired, proceeded
" in the abſence of the ſurveyor (or engineer)
" to load them, and a ſpark having got into
" one of them unperceived, the ſhell burſt as
" he was filling it, killed him on the ſpot,
" and alſo killed the ſon of a neighbouring
" chief, left but a few days before for educa-
" tion. The father of the boy was ſent for,
" who, though affected, was perfectly re-
" ſigned. Some of his words are ſaid to be
" nearly as follows: " Gentlemen, he was my
" only ſon; I thought to have had him with
" you for his good, but God hath thought
" otherwiſe: I ſee it was an accident; I do
" not blame you. Be not concerned about
" its happening here, had God wiſhed him
" to live, he would have lived. In order to
" ſhew you that I feel no ill will on account
" of this misfortune, I ſhall ſend my daughter
" to be brought up in your ſettlement."

A proof ſhall now be added of the good underſtanding that ſubſiſts between the natives and the Company, which cannot fail to afford peculiar ſatisfaction to the proprietors.

" Two ſtrange veſſels having appeared in
" ſight, which were ſuſpected to be French,
" the neighbouring king, or chief, (the ſame
" perſon who cauſed the diſperſion of the firſt
" colony, and alſo ſet on foot the palaver
" which impeded the former eſtabliſhment of
" the preſent) ſent a party of men to the aſ-
" ſiſtance of the Governor and Council, with

" a meſſage that he was himſelf about to fol-
" low with a further force, and that if it
" ſhould be neceſſary, he would raiſe the
" whole country in the colony's defence.
" When it was found that the veſſels were
" friendly, being prizes recently taken from
" the French, the natives who had come to
" Freetown went away ſaying, Well, your
" friends are our friends, and your enemies
" ſhall be our enemies." The Directors have the ſatisfaction of adding, that the Company have hitherto been on very friendly terms with the ſurrounding natives in general.

To the preceding information received from Sierra Leone, reſpecting the general diſpoſition of the natives, the Directors will add ſome obſervations on the character of an individual African, who was placed for eighteen months under their own care in England.

The late J. H. Naimbanna, ſon of the former king of Sierra Leone, when at the ſuppoſed age of twenty-four, was induced, by the ſuggeſtions of a free black belonging to the firſt body of ſettlers from London, to determine on going over to England, with the view of acquiring an education; intending to commit himſelf to the liberality of an Engliſh gentleman, to whom he had heard that the free black had been indebted for ſome degree of ſchooling. He was on the point of coming to an agreement with the maſter of a ſlave-veſſel, who was to receive three ſlaves as the price of his paſſage through the Weſt

 Indies

Indies hither, when a ſhip ſent out by the Sierra Leone Company to explore the country, arrived in Sierra Leone river. Having been brought by this veſſel to England, he was placed under the care of two clergymen ſucceſſively, who have furniſhed the chief part of the information concerning him, which will now be communicated to the Court.

A deſire of knowledge was the predominant feature in his character. His inſtructors have mentioned that he would continually urge them to prolong the time employed in reading together. He was alſo forward in declaring his obligations to every one who would aſſiſt him in the acquiſition of uſeful learning; he would expreſs regret if he had been led into any company where the time had paſſed away without improvement; and when it happened that he was left intirely to himſelf, he would employ not leſs than eight or ten hours of the day in reading. Though the diſadvantages ariſing from the long neglect of his mental faculties were apparent, he ſhewed ſigns of very good natural ſenſe; he had alſo a faculty at diſtinguiſhing characters; and his mind, as might naturally be expected, was ready to receive impreſſions from thoſe perſons of whom he had conceived a good opinion. He had few advantages of perſon, but he was uncommonly pleaſing in his behaviour, ſhewing much natural courteſy and even delicacy of manners; he was alſo of a kind and affectionate diſpoſition. He was quick in all his feelings,

feelings, and his temper was occaſionally warm, ſome degree of jealouſy alſo entering into his character: in particular he was indiſpoſed to anſwer queſtions put to him by ſtrangers concerning the ſtate of his own country; for he was apt to ſuſpect that they meant to draw compariſons between England and Sierra Leone, unfavourable to the character of the latter, and he would therefore, on ſuch occaſions, often turn the converſation, by remarking, that a country ſo unfavourably circumſtanced as Sierra Leone had hitherto been, was not to be ſuppoſed capable of having made any attainments worthy of being the ſubject of converſation in Great Britain.

The following anecdote will ſhew ſtill more ſtrongly the extreme ſenſibility which he felt, when any circumſtance aroſe which touched the honour of his country; and it will alſo explain the grounds of his peculiar jealouſy on this ſubject.

The name of a perſon having been mentioned in his preſence, who was underſtood by him to have publicly aſſerted ſomething very degrading to the general character of the Africans, he broke out into ſome violent and vindictive language againſt this perſon. He was immediately reminded of the Chriſtian duty of forgiving his enemies, upon which he anſwered nearly in the following words: "If a man, ſaid he, ſhould rob me of my "money, I can forgive him; if a man ſhould

" ſhoot at me, or try to ſtab me, I can for-
" give him; if a man ſhould ſell me and all
" my family to a ſlave-ſhip, ſo that we ſhould
" paſs all the reſt of our days in ſlavery in
" the Weſt Indies, I can forgive him; but
" (added he, riſing from his ſeat with much
" emotion) if a man takes away the charac-
" ter of the people of my country, I never
" can forgive him." Being aſked why he would not extend his forgiveneſs to thoſe who took away the character of his country, he anſwered, " If a man ſhould try to kill me,
" or ſhould ſell me and my family for ſlaves,
" he would do an injury to as many as he
" might kill or ſell; but if any one takes
" away the character of black people, that
" man injures black people all over the world;
" and when he has once taken away their
" character, there is nothing which he may
" not do to black people ever after. That
" man, for inſtance, will beat black men, and
" ſay, O, it is only a black man, why ſhould
" not I beat him? That man will make ſlaves
" of black people; for when he has taken
" away their character, he will ſay, O, they
" are only black people, why ſhould not I
" make them ſlaves? That man will take away
" all the people of Africa, if he can catch
" them; and if you aſk him, But why do
" you take away all theſe people, he will ſay,
" O, they are only black people, they are not
" like white people, why ſhould not I take
" them? That is the reaſon why I cannot

" forgive

"forgive the man who takes away the cha-
"racter of the people of my country."

The improvement which he made during his reſidence in England, was in every reſpect conſiderable; though at the time when he arrived he laboured under the diſadvantage of knowing but little of the Engliſh language, he learnt, in the ſpace of the year and half which he paſſed in England, to read very fluently, and to write a letter without much difficulty. The alteration which, during the ſame time, took place gradually in his mind, was in the whole alſo very great. When he firſt landed he had moſt of the ſame peculiarities of character which have been aſcribed to the Africans in general; he believed in witchcraft, and he had no idea of forgiving injuries; he had even endeavoured when he was in Africa to make himſelf, as he expreſſed it, as proud as he could. Before his departure from England, his pride, as well as his revengeful ſpirit, had evidently ſubſided, and were become wrong and odious in his eyes: his belief in witchcraft had entirely left him, and he appeared to feel a conſiderable degree of fear and diffidence, in reſpect to his own future conduct. His morals were pure, he had carefully abſtained from drunkenneſs, even while he lived at Sierra Leone, and he ſhewed, when he was in England, a very ſtrong abhorrence both of profane converſation and every kind of vice; as appeared more particularly about the time of his departure, from the evidence

of

of ſome ſtriking and undeniable facts. That his mind was impreſſed with religious principles, might be preſumed, in ſome meaſure, from ſeveral of the preceding remarks: he paid great reſpect to the teachers of Chriſtianity, whom he wiſhed much to invite over to his country; he had alſo the utmoſt reverence for the Scriptures, with which he had become very converſant, and he would diſcourſe on religious ſubjects with much openneſs and ſimplicity; he was at the ſame time free from enthuſiaſm. According to the account of the inſtructor with whom he paſſed the latter part of his time, he appeared to be improving in every reſpect, when the news of his father king Naimbanna's death arrived, and called him away ſuddenly to Sierra Leone. If the deplorable ſituation of his country, at the time when he left it, together with the change which had now ariſen in his own diſpoſitions and views be contemplated, it muſt be evident that many new duties and obligations would be likely to ſuggeſt themſelves to his mind, and to excite a peculiar degree of anxiety when he was on the eve of his return. A few days before his embarkation, he converſed much with ſome of his friends in England, concerning the line of conduct which it would be his duty to adopt after his arrival at Sierra Leone; and it appeared that there was no perſonal ſacrifice which, if the principles of Chriſ-

tianity

tianity required it, he was not prepared to make.

The Directors will here introduce an extract from the dispatches of their Governor and Council, describing some circumstances which arose during his passage, and giving the account of his death.

" According to the information of a servant of the Company, who sailed in the " same ship with him, he had left Plymouth " in perfect health, but as soon as he reached " a warm climate he began to feel a slight " complaint in his throat, and occasional " pains in his head; his mind was at the " same time anxious and uneasy, for he was " evidently dismayed at the prospect of those " difficulties with which he expected that he " should have to combat after his return. Numberless were the plans which he amu- " sed himself with devising, for the purpose " of spreading Christianity, and opening the " eyes of his rude countrymen; but he " seemed constantly to be tortured by the " idea that something would obstruct his " designs, and the dread of disappointment " seemed to press upon him more strongly in " proportion as he drew nigh to his native " shores; the heat also began to affect him " very violently, and a fever ensued, which " was attended with a delirium. In one of " his lucid intervals, he desired the person

" who

"who gave this account, to aſſiſt him in "making his will, by which he entruſted "his property to his brother, for the uſe of "a young child his ſon, and he introduced "into the will an earneſt requeſt that his "brother would exert every endeavour to "put an end to the Slave Trade. When he "reached Sierra Leone he was inſenſible of "every thing that paſſed, and his life was "deſpaired of. His mother, together with "ſome younger branches of the family, came "down to the Governor's houſe, where he "was laid, and, after a few hours attendance "on his dying bed, they ſaw him breathe "his laſt." The Governor and Council mention that nothing could exceed the agitation and diſtreſs ſhewn by his mother on the event of his death.

Thus terminated the days of this amiable and enlightened African, from whoſe exertions, if he had lived, the Company might have expected the moſt important and extenſive ſervices. It may be remarked however, that, notwithſtanding his untimely and much to be lamented death, he has rendered at leaſt one important ſervice to his country, by furniſhing a memorable inſtance of the effect of education on the mind of Africans, and a moſt encouraging and happy omen in favour of his benighted countrymen.

Two Africans, of whom the eldeſt is about eighteen years old, are now in England,

where

where they are receiving their education, under the directions of the Company; the one is the ſon of the preſent king of Sierra Leone; the other of a chief who lives very near to Freetown. The Directors will only remark concerning theſe young perſons, that they advance regularly in their learning, and that although they are ſaid to be different from each other in their tempers, they both appear to be fully equal to Europeans of their own age, in point of talents and natural underſtanding.

The Directors have now laid before the Court the whole of the information which they have to offer; they have ſtated briefly the hiſtory of the ſettlement, together with the expenſes of eſtabliſhing it, and the general ſituation of the funds of the Company. They have alſo ſpoken under diſtinct heads of the climate of Sierra Leone, of the meaſures taken with a view to trade, and of the progreſs made in cultivation, and, finally, of the opening proſpects of civilization: they have had the ſatisfaction of ſhewing, in the concluding part of the laſt and principal head, that many chiefs on the African coaſt are diſpoſed to co-operate in the general deſigns of the Company; that a connection is alſo courted by the Foulah as well as other nations; that ſome of the paths into the in-

terior of Africa, which had been closed through the wars, have been lately opened; that projects of further discovery have been set on foot; and that while all these promising circumstances have been taking place, the Slave Trade has been materially declining, several factories having been broken up, and many slaves, who have been returned, or withheld for want of a market, having been added to the productive labourers of the country.

From the advantages which have been reaped during this temporary declension of the Slave Trade, the Directors are naturally led to the contemplation of the blessings which are to be looked for on the event of its total abolition. Whenever that happy period shall come, when the peace of Africa, instead of being suspended as it is now on the event of the war in Europe, shall be more permanently secured and provided for through the final termination of this traffic, consequences very similar indeed to those which have arisen during the suspension of the Slave Trade, but far more important and extensive, are obviously to be expected: a still greater spring will then no doubt be given to African industry; the native chiefs, having no other means of supplying their want of European goods, will resort to regular trade and industry, not partially and as a matter of preference as they do now, but generally

generally and of neceſſity; and the European ſlave-factories, which have been hitherto the greateſt impediments to civilization, and the principal ſupport of all the more diſſolute kings and chiefs, will at the ſame time altogether ceaſe.

When this æra ſhall arrive, an æra which the Directors can by no means allow themſelves to conſider as diſtant, it ſeems probable that the inſtitution of the Sierra Leone Company may acquire much additional importance, and that the advantages of having already planted a Britiſh colony on the African coaſt, may prove to be extremely great. It will undoubtedly be then the duty of the Directors in all reſpects to avail themſelves of the opportunities which will ariſe, both by extending their own commerce, by ſuggeſting plans of cultivation to the chiefs, and by endeavouring alſo to eſtabliſh ſchools, to ſupply inſtructors, and to promote the introduction of Chriſtianity into Africa, ſo far as the influence of the Sierra Leone Company may reach.

The Directors will now cloſe this Report, and they truſt that all the circumſtances ſtated in the courſe of it being duly weighed, they ſhall not be thought to have either failed eſſentially in the requiſite exertions, or to have made an improper uſe of the confidence repoſed in them by the Proprietors. The

anxiety of the Directors, and indeed their labour alſo, have been occaſionally conſiderable; but theſe have been amply compenſated by reflections on the magnitude of that cauſe in which they have found themſelves engaged, and by the continually improving proſpect of being able, by the bleſſing of Providence, to lay ſome foundation for the future happineſs of a Continent, which has hitherto derived nothing but miſery from its intercourſe with Great Britain.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE Directors think proper to introduce the following account of the Natural Productions of Sierra Leone, by way of Appendix, being the substance of two Reports made to them by Mr. Afzelius, their Botanist.

ANIMALS.

QUADRUPEDS.—Those which are tame and are used for food, are Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Ducks, Turkies, and Fowls.

Cattle thrive well, and even grow fat, but not so commonly as in Europe. There are a number of Bulls, Oxen, and Cows grazing in the Savannahs.

Sheep assume a very strange appearance, changing their fine woollen coat into rough

hairs, resembling that of goats: they seem to suffer from the heat, are commonly lean, and do not increase much. Goats and Hogs, on the contrary, are very prolific, and grow as fine and as large as in any other countries. The settlement is supposed to be sufficiently stocked with these animals.

Fowls multiply to an amazing number; and Ducks, particularly Muscovy Ducks, thrive; but common Geese and Turkies have not answered the Company's expectations, probably for want of proper management.

Porcupines, Wild Hogs, Squirrels, and Antelopes, may also be classed among the animals found at Sierra Leone fit for food. The skin of the latter appears to be proper for gloves.

Some few Asses, which have been sent to the colony, are made useful for the purposes of labour, and do not suffer by the climate; though they are not equal to Mules.

The Beasts of prey are Lions, Leopards, Hyænas, Musk Cats, and many kinds of Weazels, which last are very destructive of poultry. The skins of some of these might be of use in a commercial view. There are two species of Musk Cats at Sierra Leone, the Civet and the Zibeth Cat, from which an inferior sort of Musk may be obtained; the latter produces the better musk of the two.

To the article of Quadrupeds should be added the Japanzee, or Chimpanzee, common

in the mountains, an animal more nearly related to the human race than even the Ourang Outang. Of two that were brought alive into the colony, one died ſoon, the other being older lived ſome months. He was nearly two feet high, but thoſe which are full grown are nearly five feet in height: he was covered with black hair, long and thick on the back, but ſhort and thin on the breaſt and belly: his face was bare; his hands and his head reſembled thoſe of an old black man, except that the hairs on his head were ſtraight: he ate, drank, and ſlept, and ſate at table, after the ſame manner as a human being: at firſt he crawled on all fours, always walking on the outſide of his hands; but when grown larger, he endeavoured to go erect, ſupporting himſelf by a ſtick, which he carried in his hand. He ſeemed to be of a melancholy diſpoſition, but was always goodnatured, doing no perſon any injury. This ſpecies of Ape, although not entirely unknown in Europe, has uſually been confounded with that of other Apes.

Birds.—Of theſe the Directors have as yet received no perfect account. It is mentioned that there is a Crane of an extraordinary appearance, which becomes very tame, and is reckoned very good food.

Amphibious Animals.—Of this kind there are Green Turtles, and thoſe called Hawk's Bill, or Loggerheads, which are both very common, and ſometimes of an immenſe

ſize, weighing ſeveral hundred pounds. Freſh-water Turtles, and Land Turtles, are to be found at Sierra Leone; the latter in great abundance; and it is thought that they might be imported into England to good profit. Crocodiles, or Alligators, of a non-deſcript ſpecies, ten or twelve feet in length, have been found; and Lizards of ſix ſpecies, among which are the Guava and the Cameleon. Snakes are almoſt innumerable; they haunt the houſes during the night in ſearch of poultry, of which they are very fond; the largeſt yet diſcovered meaſured eighteen feet, which did not prove venemous, but was of that kind which ſwallow their prey entire.

INSECTS are very numerous; the greater part of them are exceedingly beautiful, and are non-deſcripts. The moſt remarkable are the Termites, which deſtroy wooden houſes and fences; Ants, which deſtroy proviſions; Cockroaches and Crickets, which deſtroy clothes, linen, and more eſpecially leather; Muſquitos, Sandflies, Scorpions, Tarantulas, and Centipedes; alſo wild Bees, which furniſh plenty of wax and honey. The Vermes are little known; the Barnacles are very large, and injurious to veſſels not copper-bottomed.

FISHES are in great variety, both in the ſea and the river. The Spermaceti Whale has been occaſionally found at Sierra Leone, but it is met with more frequently down the coaſt. Beſides the Whale, as well as the Shark, Stinging-Ray, and Porpoiſe, there are

Eels, Horſe-Mackarel, Tarpoons, Cavillos, Mullets, Snappers, Yellowtails, Oldmaids, Tenpounders, and ſome other fiſhes, all of which, except the Eels and Tenpounders, are eſteemed fine eating. Oyſters are found in great abundance. There is alſo another ſhell fiſh, which the natives uſe for food. Among the Zoophites none is more worthy of notice than the common Spunge, which covers all the ſandy beaches of the Sierra Leone river, particularly thoſe on the Bulam ſhore. This Spunge would fetch a high price in Great Britain.

VEGETABLES.

Of eſculent vegetables Rice occupies the firſt place, as it is the chief of the plants cultivated at Sierra Leone, and the ſtaple commodity of the country, forming, when boiled and ſeaſoned with pepper, the principal food of the inhabitants, the lower claſs of whom ſubſiſt almoſt entirely upon it. Although this plant proſpers beſt in low and inundated places, it will thrive alſo on elevated land, though in common with other plants of the aquatic kind, it will in that caſe grow ſmaller and thinner, producing at the ſame time better and more nutritious grain. Of this quality is the rice now found on the eminences of Sierra Leone, while on the plains of the Bulam ſhore, and other ſuch tracts, it grows as luxuriantly as in Carolina, and if a proper apparatus were employed, it might by equal care, be ren-

 dered

dered equally white; but at preſent, through the negligence of the natives, both the rice intended for their own conſumption, and that for trade, retains part of the browniſh bran, or rind. The Rice fields are prepared during the dry ſeaſon, and receive the ſeed in the tornado ſeaſon, which is antecedent to the rains; but the ſeaſons varying in different years, the time for ſowing is irregular. In the year 1792, Rice was ſown in June, and reaped in October.

2. Caſſava, or Caſſada. This conſtitutes, after Rice, the chief food of the inhabitants, and the culture of it requires time and care. It ſucceeds beſt in ſandy and open places. In the courſe of three or four months after it has been planted the roots grow fit for uſe, and are often eaten in their raw ſtate. The natives do not reap the whole harveſt at once, but dig up a few roots as they want them; but after the approach of the ſucceeding rainy ſeaſon they clear the whole field, never extending their plantations beyond the ſuppoſed exigencies of a ſingle year. The natives ſometimes make cakes of Caſſada, which though dry, are well taſted and extremely white: they alſo boil or roaſt this article. A kind of ale might poſſibly be prepared from it, as is done by the Arawaſks of Surinam.

3. Yams. Theſe reſemble potatoes, and are a good ſubſtitute for them, being dry, farinaceous, and nutritious. Though elſewhere there are many ſpecies of Yams, there is

is but one in Sierra Leone; the largeſt root in the Company's gardens weighed only about four pounds, the ſoil being probably too hard for it. The natives do not beſtow ſo much pains on the culture of Yams as on that of Caſſada. The only way in which they, as well as the ſettlers, prepare them for eating, is by boiling and ſometimes roaſting them; but Yams might be made either into flour or ſtarch; perhaps even a good ſpirituous liquor might be diſtilled from them.

4. Sweet Potatoes. These are good and uſeful roots, in no particular, however, reſembling the true potatoes. The natives boil them, but in the colony they are roaſted, and they are alſo made into a kind of bread, which is nutritious, and of a tolerably good taſte. Sweet Potatoes thrive beſt in a looſe ſoil, but the natives are as inattentive to the manner of cultivating them as to that of Yams. The leaves boiled make a good diſh on the table, and afford an excellent nouriſhment for ſheep, goats, or pigs.

5. Ground Nuts. Theſe are eaten by the natives, either raw or roaſted.

6. Eddoes. Though abundant they are not ſo much uſed as they deſerve to be; the leaves, if they are young, are as good as ſpinnach; and the roots, when boiled, reſemble cheſnuts. They are fit for uſe when three months old, but are beſt after four or five months growth.

7 and 8. Country Potatoes of two different

 ſorts;

ſorts; namely, firſt, Ajuck, a round root, ſomewhat bigger than a hazel nut, found in abundance in low places, with a long ſtem, which creeps round it on the ground; its taſte is better than that of ſweet potatoes, and it is leſs ſolid. And ſecondly, Abunck, which grows on the branches of the tree in a ſtrange manner, and is a ſingular excreſcence of an irregular, angular, and tuberous ſhape. It taſtes ſomewhat like Sweet Potatoes.

9. Oil Palm. A common, handſome, and uſeful tree, indicating a good ſoil. It ſupplies the inhabitants with oil, wine, and food. The wine in appearance perfectly reſembles whey, has a good taſte when freſh, but is apt to ferment and grow ſour, and to change in three or four days to the ſtrongeſt vinegar, of a diſagreeable ſmell. It is collected by tapping the tree. The oil is obtained from the fruit, which is of the ſize of a hazel nut, conſiſting of a hard kernel, encloſed in a thick, fat, and oleaginous matter, covered with a thin ſkin, which diſſolves and yields the oil, which is uſed by the natives by way of butter to their rice. This oil, though liquid at firſt, in a ſhort time hardens, and turns rancid: a ſuperior oil is made, though in ſmall quantities, by bruiſing and boiling the kernels in water. The interior and medullary ſubſtance of the top of young Palm trees being boiled in water, forms a diſh reſembling Cabbage; the leaves ſerve the natives for baſkets.

10 and 11. Plantains and Bananas. Theſe grow very commonly, and are two uſeful trees, nearly related to the Palm. The fruit of the Plantains is larger than that of the Bananas, more regular, bent at the baſe, and fewer in cach cluſter, harder, and leſs luſcious; it is eaten raw, boiled, or roaſted. Bananas are among the ſuperior fruits of this country, ſoft and ſweet, and generally eaten raw: above one hundred grow in a cluſter. The leaves are employed for various economical purpoſes; and the fibres of them are uſed in ſome places for thread.

12. Papaw. A fine fruit of a deep green, but when ripe of a yellow colour. This is eaten raw, but makes a good diſh when boiled; the leaves are uſed for waſhing inſtead of ſoap, the hollow ſtalks for pipes, and ropes may be made of the bark.

13. Guavas. Some green fruit of this kind has been diſcovered in a neighbouring bay.

14 and 15. Orange and Lime Trees. Theſe are very common in their wild ſtate, bearing ripe fruit throughout the year, though not in equal abundance at all ſeaſons. The Oranges are excellent, and better, at leaſt larger, than thoſe brought to Europe. Some Lemons, planted a long time ago by the Portugueſe in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement, have degenerated ſo much as almoſt to reſemble Limes.

16. Pumpions or Pumpkins. Theſe are to be found wild wherever the ground is looſe;

looſe; ſome of them grow to the length of fifty feet, but the fruit, on an average, do not attain to the ſame ſize as in Europe, though they are more ſolid. They are uſed for pies and puddings, and may be had throughout the year.

17, 18, 19, 20. Squaſh, Water Melon, Cucumber, and Muſk Melon. Theſe four ſpecies arrive at the greateſt perfection, and by proper care might be made to ſurpaſs thoſe of European growth. The firſt ſettlers found on their arrival no Water Melons, but took the ſeeds with them.

21. Pine Apples. Theſe are far better flavoured than thoſe of Europe, but tougher in the middle. They are to be found all the year growing wild in the woods, and on declivities in the neighbourhood of water; they are alſo planted by the natives near their towns.

22. Pigeon Pea. This is a good wholeſome pulſe, and is dreſſed in the ſame manner as Engliſh peas or beans. Theſe peas grow wild in the ſkirts of woods, and in old Rice and Caſſada fields, and may be had throughout the year.

23. Maize or Indian Corn. This is cultivated more on the Bulam ſhore than near Freetown; it requires but three months to ripen it, ſo that ſeveral harveſts are afforded in one year. The grain is boiled in ſalt water, or roaſted in the ear and eaten with butter, but ſometimes it is eaten raw. The natives

natives of the Gold Coaſt bruiſe it and make puddings of it. Goats and cattle eat the leaves with avidity.

24. Millet of two kinds. This is found wild and uſed for poultry; the ſtalks of the larger ſort contain a ſweet and refreſhing juice.

25. Cocoa Trees grow in Sherbro, where they have been planted. The fruit is either eaten raw or made into pies.

26. Caſhew Nuts, according to Lieutenant Matthews, were introduced by the Europeans, but none have been ſeen at Sierra Leone, except thoſe brought over from the Bulam ſhore.

27. Okras. The fruit of a little tree reſembling the Engliſh Seatree Mallows, very common at Sierra Leone. The pods put into ſoup render it gelatinous and highly nouriſhing; the leaves boil like Spinnach.

28. Sugar Canes. Theſe have been found, though not in great quantities, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone; they are ſuppoſed to be of a good quality, and probably will thrive exceedingly, as ſoon as the land in which they have been planted ſhall have been ſome time in cultivation.

29. Butter and Tallow Tree. This is common in low lands about Freetown; it abounds with a juice reſembling Gamboge in taint and durability, which exudes after the leaſt laceration, and becomes more coagulated, viſcous, and of a darker colour. The wood of this tree is firm, and ſeems adapted

to

to various economical purpofes. The fruit is nearly oval, about twice the fize of a man's fift; the rind is thick, pulpy, and of a pleafant acid; in the infide are found from five to nine feeds, of the fize of a Walnut, containing an oleaginous matter, extracted by the natives, and ufed with their rice or other food.

30. Tamarinds. Of thefe there is a great variety. The Velvet Tamarind and common Tamarind grow plentifully on the ifland of Bananas. Befides thefe there are White Tamarinds, which being of an indifferent tafte are much neglected, but the tree is valuable for many purpofes. There are alfo Brown Tamarinds, which are fweet and highly efteemed. There is alfo a hard and infipid fruit refembling a Tamarind, eaten by the natives, which they call Maffino.

31. Figtree. The fruit of this tree, which fcarcely exceeds a hazel nut in fize, is agreeable like other figs, but it can hardly be eaten, owing to the number of fmall infects with which it is commonly filled.

32. Country Figs. Thefe in no refpect refemble the true Figs, except in the number of their gritty feeds. This fruit is of the fize of an apple, nearly round, and agreeable to the tafte; when fufficiently ripe refembling the European Strawberry. The tree is new and non-defcript; it is found growing in the beft foil in the woods.

33. Hog Plums. Theſe are rather ſmaller than European Plums, of a yellow colour, and not unpleaſant flavour, though ſomewhat inſipid: the natives are very fond of them. The tree on which they grow has, in ſome reſpect, the appearance of the Aſh.

34. Country Plums. Of theſe there are many kinds, beſides thoſe juſt mentioned. They contain generally one or more kernels; they are commonly of the ſize of an hazel nut. As the difference in the ſeveral ſorts is inconſiderable, it may be ſufficient to mention the names of ſeven ſpecies, which are, 1ſt, Beſabis—2d, Drap—3d, Abooke—4th, Machai, or Mackanter—5th, Magint—6th, Malinta—7th, Wanibé. There are certainly many more not yet particularly known.

35. Country Grapes. Theſe are round and black, of an acid and acrid taſte; they might certainly be improved, but never ſo as to reſemble grapes, for they belong to a genus totally different.

36. Sorrel. This contains an acid ſimilar to that of real Sorrel, but reſembles it in no other reſpect. The plant is common enough.

37. Calceloo. A plant which affords the beſt ſubſtitute for Spinnach, if properly dreſſed; it grows in cleared grounds, and an abundance of it indicates a good ſoil: natives, Europeans, and ſettlers agree in commending it.

38. Purſlain.

38. Purſlain. A very common plant on hills near the ſhore. It appears above ground three days after having been ſown. It is ſaid, when bruiſed, to have been applied to freſh wounds with ſucceſs.

39. Maunnee Apple. There is a well known and much eſteemed fruit of this ſort in the Weſt Indies; but that of Sierra Leone is of a different ſpecies, though no way inferior in ſize or flavour to the Weſt Indian Apple of the ſame name.

40, 41, 42. Cainito, Bumelia, and Icaco or Pigeon Plums. Three Weſt Indian fruits. The laſt is rather inſipid, but improves greatly by cultivation.

43, 44. Antideſma, of the ſame taſte with Red Currants, and Mantanka, being alſo tolerably good.

45. Country Cherries. These ſurpaſs all the fruits of Sierra Leone; a fine Nectarine is the fruit to which a Country Cherry can beſt be compared.

46. The Bread Fruit Tree. This has, at a diſtance, the appearance of an old Apple-tree. A ſpecies of it grows plentifully on the Bulam ſhore, and in low and ſandy places. The fruit is about the ſize of an Apple, and when freſh is exceedingly good and nutritious, having almoſt the ſame taſte as gingerbread, but it loſes much of its flavour when old.

47. The Cream Fruit. This is ſtill larger and quite round: there are always two of the

the fruits united together and hanging down at the end of a ſmall branch; when wounded they yield a quantity of fine white juice, reſembling ſugar, or the beſt milk; the natives are very fond of it, and uſe it to quench their thirſt. The tree is very lofty, and grows in abundance, particularly on the Iſlands of Plantains.

There is a ſet of plants called by the Botaniſts Amomum, which all partake of a ſpicy nature, in a different degree, and are of three diviſions. To the firſt belongs that ſpecies, the virtue of which is contained in the roots, and generally called Gingers. To the ſecond, that of which the virtue lies in the ſmall ſeeds, ſuch as Grains of Paradiſe, or Malaguetta Pepper. The third is that ſpecies which has an aromatic flavour in its ſeeds, and called Cardamoms. The true Ginger grows in the Suſee country, though not yet found in Sierra Leone. Malaguetta Pepper is found of four different ſorts; 1ſt, Maboobo, the ſeeds of which are pretty large, oblong, and of an agreeable but weak flavour. 2d, Maſſaaba, ſmaller than the preceeding, but otherwiſe much like it; the pulp in the pod, when freſh, is of a fine acid. 3d, Maſſa Amquona, the ſeeds of which are of the ſame nature as thoſe laſt mentioned, but rather more angular and pungent; the leaves and ſtems are endowed with the fineſt aroma, both in reſpect to ſcent

ſcent and taſte. 4th, Toſſan, which is the native and true Malaguetta Pepper of Africa, and Grains of Paradiſe of the ſhops. It excels all other kinds in pungency.

A new ſpecies of Nutmeg, different from all others, has been diſcovered; but whether it is as good as the common ſort it is at this time difficult to aſcertain.

Coffee trees are found of two different ſpecies, both non-deſcript; but whether of any uſe is not yet aſcertained.

Piper Ethiopicum. A well-known ſpice, grows on lofty trees, in great abundance on the mountains. It is uſed both by ſettlers and natives inſtead of Black Pepper.

Mabeck. A fine ſpice, though not very pungent, the virtue of which is principally in the huſk, is uſed by the natives for many medicinal purpoſes. The tree is high and valuable.

Barreliera. A ſmall plant with the ſame ſcent as Thyme, and might be uſed for the ſame purpoſes.

Tomatos, with which the natives ſeaſon their rice, are angular and red. It is thought that Capſicums grow wild, and that from the great demand for them in England, they might be worth cultivation.

Medicinal Plants.——Cola is a famous fruit, highly eſteemed by the natives, to which they attribute the ſame virtues as to Peruvian Bark. It is uſed for the ſame pur-

poſes

poſes by the Portugueſe, who ſend out ſmall veſſels along the coaſt to collect all the Cola they can get.

Peruvian Bark. Of this a new ſort has been diſcovered, which may perhaps prove as uſeful as the other: the natives uſe it for the ſame purpoſes.

Caſtor Oil. The buſh which produces the nuts from which this oil is expreſſed, grows every where in Sierra Leone.

Caſſia of the Cane. The African ſpecies is nearly related to that of the Weſt Indies, and will not, it is thought, be found leſs uſeful.

With reſpect to Dyes, Yellow may be extracted from the Butter fruit tree, and Blue from Indigo. Black and Red may alſo be obtained from other plants. Gum Copal and Gum Senega, uſually ſold in the ſhops for Gum Arabic, are among the chief gums on the coaſt.

The True Cotton grows plentifully in Sierra Leone, as does the Silk Cotton among other Cotton fruits.

The natives uſe the back of the Mahant for ropes and whips, and the roots of the famous Mangrove for bas in making mats.

Common Tobacco grows at Sierra Leone, but the natives do not cultivate it.

No report having been made by the Company's Mineralogiſt, the Directors are not

prepared to offer any particular ſpecification of the Minerals found at Sierra Leone.

After reading the REPORT, the GENERAL COURT

" RESOLVED,

" *That this Court doth approve*
" *of the Proceedings of the Chairman and Court of*
" *Directors; and return its Thanks to them for the*
" *great Zeal, Aſſiduity, and Ability with which they*
" *have conducted the affairs of the Company:—and*
" *that the Report [as the Directors may think proper*
" *to reviſe the ſame] be printed for the uſe of the*
" *Proprietors.*"



SUBSTANCE

OF THE

REPORT

OF THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

SIERRA LEONE COMPANY,

DELIVERED TO THE

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS,

On Thursday the 26th February, 1795.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD,
LOMBARD STREET.

M. DCC. XCV.

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

REPORT

OF THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS.

THE DIRECTORS have thought it proper to call the preſent Court with the view of laying before the Proprietors the account which they have received of a calamity which has been ſuſtained by the Colony at SIERRA LEONE, through the depredations made by a French Squadron, which has very lately and unexpectedly appeared in that quarter.—The Directors will lay before the Court a detailed account of the chief occurrences which paſſed from day to day during the period to which they allude; they will add ſome general obſervations made by their Governor and Council ſome weeks after the calamity; and they will then mention the ſteps which the Directors have already taken, or are pro-

ceeding to take, in order to relieve the sufferings of their servants, and in order to put their establishment on that footing which may still afford the means of accomplishing the great objects of this institution; and which may at the same time accord with the present circumstances of the Company.

"On the 27th September, 1794, late in the evening, some alarm was excited in the Colony by the firing of two heavy guns at sea. After an anxious night, on the 28th, as soon as it was light, the Company's servants were able to count seven or eight sail, and could distinguish the English colours in them all. About nine o'clock they could discern that the fleet consisted of one two-decker, several large armed ships, and two armed brigs. It was agreed, that if they should prove enemies, resistance to such superior force would only be an idle waste of lives, and that it might also render the terms of capitulation less favourable. It was then considered whether an attempt should be made to save any part of the Company's property: to this measure the objections were, *First*, that there was little probability of having the buildings preserved, unless the Company's servants should remain on the spot; and it was obvious that they could not remain with safety if it should be known that any property was secreted. *Secondly*, that no vessels could be employed in the removal of goods, as all their motions could

now

now be ſeen, ſince the fleet was already coming in. *Thirdly*, that ſince the property muſt be delivered to a number of individuals, in order to its removal, there would be great difficulty in recovering it; and that the chances were very much in favour of its being an Engliſh fleet, in which caſe the removal would be productive of nothing but loſs: the wind alſo was at this time fair; the tide flowing; and there was hardly time either for deliberation or execution. In about half an hour ſome men in one of the frigates were ſeen pointing a gun into the piazza of the Governor's houſe; and the ſhot began flying over the town in a few minutes after.— The colours were immediately ſtruck, and a flag of truce was held out; but the firing ſtill continued, ſeveral grape and muſquet ſhot falling into the piazza. It appears that a black child was killed, and two black ſettlers were ſeverely wounded.

The French, after they had been hailed and aſſured that the Colony had ſurrendered, deſiſted from firing. Soon after ten o'clock they began to land, and a ſervant of the Company was at the ſame time ſent to invite the commanding officer to the Governor's houſe. A number of Frenchmen were found to have already entered into the great ſtore, as well as two principal houſes, where they were already pillaging and deſtroying whatſoever they met with. The officer was too much engaged to attend to the invitation imme-

 diately;

diately; but one Newell, an American Slave Captain, (who had before had a diſpute with the Governor, and who had piloted the French veſſels into the river) being attended by half a dozen Frenchmen, came to the Governor's houſe, almoſt foaming with rage, preſented a piſtol to the Governor, and with many oaths demanded inſtant ſatisfaction.—The Governor anſwered, that ſince he was no longer maſter of his own actions, the Slave Captain muſt now *take* ſuch ſatisfaction as he judged equivalent to his claims. This man afterwards became ſo outrageous, that the Governor thought it prudent to requeſt from the French officer a ſafe conduct on board the Commodore's ſhip, which was granted; and he alſo deſired to have a guard for his own houſe, which the officer profeſſed an intention to give.

The Governor, when he was on board the French ſhip, expreſſed to the Captain his ſurpriſe at the proceedings which had taken place, and obſerved, in civil terms, that he had hoped to find in Frenchmen a generous enemy; but that on the contrary the Colony had been dealt with in a manner which he believed was unuſual, except in places taken by ſtorm. The firſt words ſpoken by the Captain were, "Have you removed any property?" The Governor aſſured him he had not. "Be careful," returned he, "of what you ſay to me; for if I ſhall find after this that you have removed any thing, I ſhall

make

make you ſuffer, and there ſhall not be a hut left in the place." The Governor repeated his aſſurance: on which he was told to make himſelf eaſy, ſince all farther pillage ſhould be prevented. The Captain however would make no written engagement; and he ſaid in the ſame breath, that if the ſeamen and ſoldiers were diſpoſed to plunder, he could not prevent them. He alſo added, that it was his intention to burn every houſe in the place belonging to *Engliſhmen*. The Governor made uſe of many arguments in order to diſſuade him, and alſo repreſented the nature of the Eſtabliſhment in ſuch a manner as ſeemed likely to intereſt his feelings; but it was all to no purpoſe: Newell, the American Slave Captain, who was joined by another American, a Slave Trader, of the name of Mariner, appearing to have prejudiced the minds of the French, the Governor endeavoured to expoſe the unworthy motives which both theſe men might be ſuppoſed to have for vilifying the Company, and his obſervations ſeemed to gain ſome credit; but all applications urged on behalf of the Colony continued to be ineffectual, the conſtant reply being, * "Citoyen cela peut bien être, mais encore vous êtes Anglois." The caſe of the black ſettlers was then repreſented, who, though not Engliſhmen, were ſharing the ſame fate with the Company's ſervants; the houſes of the former being alſo broken into and pillaged. Strong proteſtations were made

* "Citizen, that may be true, but ſtill you are Engliſhmen."

 by

by the French officer of his friendly intentions with respect to the blacks; but it was hinted as before, that there was no possibility of restraining the soldiery. A solemn assurance was however given, that the settlers houses should be saved from fire. A demand for several articles was urged by the Governor, on the ground of their being necessary to keep the people alive; such as wearing apparel, provisions, medicines, &c. all which he was induced to hope at the time that the officer would allow. A proposal to ransom the place was also made, but in vain.

The scene which Freetown now exhibited was in every respect distressing. Of the crew of the French ship, some were carrying away great loads of goods on their backs; others were gathering themselves round a cask of wine, which they were drinking without any restraint. Leman, a black settler, who had been some time before imprisoned for selling a man as a slave, was seen dressed out in a laced suit of clothes, intended for one of the African Chiefs, and was exulting that he had now got his liberty. Mariner, the American, had also adorned himself with some spoils from the house of the Company's Surveyor, and was heard vowing destruction to the place, and every individual in it, if some runaway slaves of a person with whom he had lived, were not restored. He also related how the settlers had formerly followed him into his boat with stones: "But now, said

he,

he, I ſhall glut myſelf with revenge." All the houſes were by this time filled with Frenchmen, who deſtroyed whatever they found in them which they could not convert to their own uſe, while ſeveral other parties were ſcouring the town in queſt of ſtock: of which the deſtruction on this and the following day was extremely great. In the Governor's yard alone, 14 dozen of fowls were killed; and the number of hogs deſtroyed, in all parts of the town, was not leſs than twelve hundred. The books of the Company's library were ſcattered about, and defaced; and if they bore any reſemblance to bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. In the houſe of Mr. Afzelius, the Botaniſt, the plants, ſeeds, dried birds and inſects, drawings, books, and papers, were ſcattered in heaps on the floor; and a beautiful muſk cat was killed. In the Accountant's office all the deſks and drawers were demoliſhed in the ſearch for money; the copying and printing-preſſes alſo were deſtroyed. All the Company's teleſcopes, barometers, themometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces. The wearing apparel of the Company's ſervants was taken out of their rooms. The Governor's own apartment was guarded by a centinel for a time; but this only ſerved to retard the pillage of it.

On the next day a few clothes, books, and papers, which had been ſaved from the general wreck, were, by the aſſiſtance of the Commodore,

modore, ſent into the country, but the greater part of them was again taken away by the different gangs of pillagers, who beſet every avenue into the town. All the Company's ſervants had ſome time before this period fled into the woods, or taken refuge in the neighbouring towns; except ten or twelve of them, who were collected in the Governor's houſe, where alſo ſeveral French ſailors had quartered themſelves, who were tolerably civil, occaſionally offering to the gentlemen a ſhare of the pork and fowls which they were dreſſing. It became now however every hour more and more unpleaſant to remain in Freetown, as the ſoldiery were giving themſelves up to every ſpecies of exceſs. They were alſo ſhooting all the day long at the ſtock which was running about, ſo that it was highly dangerous for any one to walk out; the greater part of the gentlemen therefore diſperſed themſelves in the courſe of this and the ſucceeding day, either in the native towns, or the farm houſes of the ſettlers; three of them taking refuge in the Daniſh or Deſerter's Town, upon the mountains, where they were very kindly treated. All the native children placed at Freetown for education, were received, together with their ſchoolmiſtreſs, into a native town about two miles diſtant, the headman of which very reſolutely refuſed to permit a party of Frenchmen who had ſtraggled thither to enter into it.

The Governor being unwilling to abſent himſelf while there was a proſpect of effecting any thing in behalf of the people, applied for permiſſion to remain on board the Commodore's veſſel, and obtained it. He lay in the cabin, where however he was not able to obtain ſo much as a ſheet to throw over him. In his walk this day he met with a number of ſettlers, who appeared much affected at ſeeing him.

The French had now made their way in various directions to the farms of the ſettlers, which they were plundering; one of them being ſeen in the act of taking away from a ſettler the bed on which he was uſed to lie, the Governor tried to diſſuade him from it, on which the Frenchman threatened to cut the Governor down; but four officers having come up, the man was led away, and at night he was put in irons.

30th Sept. Mariner, the American, was again very groſs in his abuſe; he gloried in what had been done, and expreſſed it to be his heart's deſire to wring his hands in the blood of Engliſhmen; adding that if his influence ſhould prevail, not a hut ſhould be left in the place. The Commodore however was this day prevailed on to allow about five tons of rice, from the Company's ſtore, to be divided among the ſettlers.

On the 1ſt October, a man was diſpatched to a neighbouring river, in order to collect rice for the Company. On the ſecond, ſeveral

of the chief buildings in Freetown, and one or two ſettlers houſes were burnt by the French, and one of the Company's ſmall veſſels alſo. The church was obſerved this day to have been pillaged, the books torn, and the pulpit and clock broken to pieces. The Commodore had mentioned to the Governor that the church ſhould be ſaved. The Apothecary's ſhop, with every medicine in it, was alſo deſtroyed. Information was received that the ſlave factory of Bance Iſland had been taken, the life of one boy only having been loſt.

On the third of October, Mr. Afzelius, the botaniſt, made application to the Commodore for the recovery of his drawings, and, after bearing much rudeneſs, he was at laſt able to obtain part of them. A complaint to the Commodore was this day renewed reſpecting the conduct of the Americans, who were holding out frequent threats. The inconſiſtency of Frenchmen leaguing with men whoſe trade it was to enſlave their fellow-creatures, and whoſe diſlike to the Sierra Leone Company aroſe merely from the hatred of the latter againſt the ſame traffic, while France was profeſſing to make war againſt ſlavery, and even to liberate all ſlaves, was ſtrongly urged; upon which the Commodore addreſſed himſelf on the ſubject to Mariner, who endeavoured to evade the charge: the converſation ended in the Commodore's directing the ſlave captain to take no meaſures whatever, either againſt the place or againſt any individual.

On

On the fourth, the Governor made a recapitulation of the ſeveral promiſes which had been held out, and earneſtly preſſed the fulfilment of them. The Commodore evaded them all, ſaying in plain terms that he ſhould be in danger of loſing his life if he were to comply with them. Such a repreſentation of the diſtreſsful ſtate of the colony was made, that at laſt one barrel of flour, one caſk of pork, and one puncheon of brandy, were obtained.

October 6. On this day the conflagration of all the buildings, exempted from the former fire, commenced. The church, a range of ſhops, and three of the ſettlers houſes near the water ſide, were deſtroyed, and alſo three ſmall veſſels, together with all the boats belonging to the Company which could be met with. The Company's ſchooner, the Thornton, was given to Mariner as a reward for his ſervices, and a quantity of rum, gunpowder, and other goods, were divided between him and Newell.

The Governor, in company with one or two other ſervants of the Company, this day viſited ſeveral of the farm houſes; they were much gratified both by the warm congratulations of the ſettlers on their health and ſafety, and alſo by obſerving that there was no appearance of want in theſe parts; the diſtant farms in general abounded with proviſions, and the rice, which, together with 50 or 60 puncheons of molaſſes the French had permitted to be

taken

taken away, afforded to the free blacks a very ſufficient preſent ſubſiſtence. The French veſſels this day being on their return from Bance Iſland, paſſed by Granville town, and fired one ſhot into it; in conſequence of which all the ſettlers living there fled into the woods, but there was no attempt to land.

7th and 8th Oct. The Governor now fixed himſelf at Granville Town, from whence he occaſionally viſited Freetown, and renewed his applications to the Commodore for neceſſaries, obtaining on one of theſe days a bag of biſcuit and about twenty pounds of ſugar. He attempted to procure the reſtitution of a ſchooner belonging to a native trader, which had come down to Sierra Leone, but in vain, ſome letters found on board, addreſſed to the Governor, being thought a ſufficient ground for her condemnation. He ſucceeded however in a nearly ſimilar application for the recovery of a ſmall veſſel, belonging to the mulatto trader, ſpoken of in a former Report as a perſon eminently friendly to the Company. Some uneaſineſs was at this time excited in the minds of ſeveral Nova Scotians reſpecting the natives, of whom they appeared now to feel a greater dread than they had felt even of the French themſelves. A ſon of the late king of Sierra Leone, brother of the late J. H. Naimbanna, a young man poſſeſſing no weight in the country, took this opportunity of declaiming violently againſt the Company; remarking among other

things

things that the Governor and Council had been guilty of killing his brother, and that this was the time for demanding ſatisfaction. The detention of two veſſels of the Company by the natives, which had happened before the arrival of the French, created ſuſpicion, and a few other ſmaller circumſtances were much ſpoken of and exaggerated. The Governor ſucceeded in ſome meaſure in allaying the general fears, which appear in the main to have been totally unfounded.

On the 9th of Oct. the Company's largeſt ſhip, the Harpy, arrived off Cape Sierra Leone, from England, having ſeveral paſſengers on board, and goods to the amount of about 10,000l. The demolition of the Company's houſes having been diſcovered, ſhe put out again to ſea, and ſhe appeared for a time to gain on the veſſel which was ſent in chace of her, but the wind dying away, ſhe was overtaken, and immediately ſtruck. No part of the cargo of this ſhip was landed in the Colony, nor would the Commodore ſuffer the diſpatches and papers brought by her to be delivered, a few newſpapers excepted. The Engliſh paſſengers were completely plundered of their property; the Company's chaplain, who went out in her, was deprived of all his private papers; and three natives, who had been making a voyage to England, loſt all the preſents which they were carrying back with them, not excepting a part of their clothes, which they were obliged to exchange

for

for others of an inferior ſort: a plant hatch, ſent out by the Harpy, containing many valuable articles of tropical cultivation from his Majeſty's collection at Kew, which were thought likely to thrive in Africa, and particularly the bread fruit tree, was deſtroyed, together with all its contents, though earneſt application for the delivery of it was made. An under-gardener of the king, as well as his aſſiſtant, to whom the charge of the plant hatch was committed, died ſoon afterwards of an illneſs contracted at this period.

It has been already noticed that ſeveral of the Company's ſervants retired on the firſt arrival of the French ſquadron, either into the woods or neighbouring towns. Mr. Pepys, the Company's Surveyor, who with his wife and child went out to Sierra Leone by the earlieſt ſhip, to whom alſo the Company ſtood indebted for ſome extraordinary exertions in laying out the lots of land during the firſt unhealthy ſeaſon, was of the number of thoſe who fled. A rumour was circulated among the blacks, (ſuppoſed to be a very unfounded one) which reached his ears, that a price was ſet on his head: his wife and child, together with a female ſervant, joined him in the woods, where they obtained neceſſary food through the kindneſs of ſome Nova Scotians; many of whom had families, which fled thither alſo. The Governor, in the courſe of a walk which he took on the fourth day after the arrival of the French, met with Mr. Pepys, and

and urged him to take ſhelter in ſome of the towns near the water-ſide (for he had ſlept hitherto in the open air), and this advice would have been followed if freſh rumours of ſome deſign againſt the perſon of Mr. Pepys had not been propagated by the Nova Scotians, which appear to have been too readily believed. He had now multiplied precautions for his ſafety, and he continued, together with all his family, to paſs the night as before, notwithſtanding ſome heavy rains. On the 6th or 7th day after the arrival of the French, Mr. Watt, the Company's manager, found this unhappy party in the woods, oppreſſed with fever, and ſome of them nearly exhauſted. With great difficulty they were led to the water-ſide, from whence a boat, which the natives were ſo good as to ſupply, tranſported them to the Bulam ſhore. Every attention of which the diſtreſſed and ſickly ſtate of the colony would at this time admit, was there paid to them. Mrs. Pepys, as well as the child and her maid, recovered; Mr. Pepys died.

On the 10th, the Governor returning home to Granville Town, after an unſucceſsful application to the Commodore for the delivery of a few letters by the Harpy, found the corpſe of Mr. Pepys lying in the town. He learnt that the headman of the Bulam ſhore had demanded the preſent of rum which is cuſtomary on the occaſion of a burial; and as the Company were not in a

 condition

condition to grant it, the body was ſent back to be interred on the Sierra Leone ſide.

On the 11th, the Governor heard that it was the intention of the Commodore (who was now ſuppoſed to be on the eve of ſailing) to leave on ſhore at Freetown, all the European ſailors who had been found on board the various ſhips which had been captured, amounting in all to near a hundred and twenty. As the Governor was without means of providing for them, he made a very ſtrong remonſtrance to the Commodore on the ſubject, urging him to grant ſome proviſions and medicines and other articles, the want of which was likely to be very generally and ſeverely felt in the Colony. No anſwer was returned either on this or the ſucceeding day.

On the 12th, ſome ſhew of reſiſtance to the French was made by the ſettlers in the country. A party who had gone out in queſt of booty, were met by the Governor, returning with great precipitation, having been driven back by the Nova Scotians.—This being Sunday, public ſervice was performed at Granville Town by the Company's chaplain, who had recently arrived.

On the 13th of October ſeveral French officers brought to the Governor a ſmall ſtock of proviſions, amounting to about two or three weeks ſupply for the whites in the Colony. This grant was ſaid to be made in conſequence

of

of the remonſtrance ſent in two days before; and it conſiſted of twelve barrels of flour, two barrels of biſcuit, two cheſts of rice, three barrels of oatmeal, two tierces and a barrel of beef, and a puncheon of brandy. The Governor repaired immediately to the Commodore's ſhip, in order to thank him for the gift, as well as to urge his compliance with ſeveral other demands. The Commodore paid no attention to his ſolicitation, and he ſet ſail on the ſame day to the ſouthward, with all his fleet, to which the Harpy was now added.*

On the departure of the French ſquadron, about a week's allowance of flour and beef was diſtributed among the ſailors who had been left on ſhore, and almoſt all the beef was diſpoſed of at the firſt ſerving. Several tons of rice, which previous means had been taken to collect, were brought into the ſettlement; a few very eſſential articles were alſo unexpectedly obtained from the neighbouring ſlave-factory at Bance Iſland, which had been able to remove ſome of its property; and a ſmall ſupply of live ſtock was procured from other quarters. The Governor and Council finding that many Nova Scotians

* The Directors have ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Commander of this Squadron may not have received any regular commiſſion from the preſent French Convention; and that the equipment of it may have been made on the ſpeculation of private individuals (ſome of them Slave Traders) acting as owners of privateers, and not declaring the particular object of its deſtination.

 had

had, by the permiſſion of the French, carried off conſiderable quantities of wood and other articles belonging to the Company, during the general pillage, demanded that a reſtitution of every thing ſhould now be made, proviſions excepted, an allowance of twenty per cent. being at the ſame time propoſed by way of ſalvage. The Directors are ſorry to obſerve that only a ſmall proportion of the property in queſtion had been brought in, at the time when the laſt diſpatches left the Colony.

A few weeks after the departure of the French ſquadron, intelligence arrived of their having captured two of the Company's ſmall trading veſſels, on their paſſage down the coaſt. The crews were immediately put on ſhore, as were a number of other Europeans, who had navigated ſeveral Engliſh ſlave-ſhips which were alſo captured. After having been plundered by the natives of that part (who alſo reduced into freſh captivity ſix hundred ſlaves whom the French had liberated), as many of the European captains and ſailors as were able to croud into a few boats of which they got poſſeſſion, made their way towards Sierra Leone: they were hoſpitably entertained and aſſiſted, firſt by a factor connected with the mulatto trader already mentioned, though living at a conſiderable diſtance from him, then by an aged and reſpectable native, the chief perſon in the river Sherbro, who has been alſo ſpoken of in the former Report as

very

very friendly to the Company; after which they reached the place of reſidence of the mulatto trader himſelf: here again they experienced the utmoſt civility and attention, and the ſchooner of the mulatto trader brought them all in good health to Sierra Leone. It may not be improper to remark that this pacific and friendly chief (the ſame perſon who was complained of by a ſlave-factor as being "*too eaſy*") prevented one of the French ſhips of war from purſuing and capturing a large loaded veſſel from England, belonging to a neighbouring ſlave-factory, which took refuge in his river.

The Directors think that, while they are mentioning the advantages derived from the mild and friendly diſpoſitions which the Company has cultivated in reſpect to the chiefs of their own neighbourhood (advantages in which the party of ſlave-captains of whom they have been ſpeaking, have ſo happily participated), it may be proper to notice ſome circumſtances in the conduct of other ſlave traders, tending to ſhew the unequal meaſure which is dealt out to the Sierra Leone Company, and the diſadvantages under which it is obliged both to carry on its peaceful trade, and to ſupport its beneficial eſtabliſhment.

One of the two captured ſhips of the Sierra Leone Company, which were laſt mentioned, was much diſtreſſed, juſt before her capture, through ſome little deficiences in her equipment, and in particular by the want of top-

ſails. Application was made to a ſlave-captain on the coaſt, who could have conveniently ſupplied her wants, but he demanded the ſum of 100l. as the price of a ſmall anchor, and a no leſs exorbitant payment for every other neceſſary; expreſsly ſaying that he ſhould make this enormous charge on account of her being a veſſel belonging to the Sierra Leone Company.

Another circumſtance tending to mark the hoſtility of the ſlave-traders, which reached the ears of the Company's ſervants through the report of priſoners, but which, if not reported by them, would have appeared more than probable, is the following:—It is ſaid that the Britiſh ſlave-factor of the Iſles de Los, whoſe factory was deſtroyed by the French ſquadron ſome-time previous to their arrival at Sierra Leone, might eaſily have given about two days notice of their approach to the Sierra Leone Government; but that he purpoſely declined it, having been even heard to mention that he wiſhed the French to deſtroy the ſettlement, and that he hoped they would not leave a hut ſtanding in the place. The ſame ſlave-factor is ſtated to have been guilty of the following injuſtice and inhumanity. Eighteen Britiſh ſailors, forming part of the crew of a veſſel of his, in which he was ſailing, were left by him unperceived on the wharf at Freetown, ſome weeks ſubſequent to the departure of the French ſquadron, all of them being ſick and in the moſt miſerable condition.

condition. The Governor was not made acquainted with the circumſtance until the morning after, when he learnt that one of theſe unhappy men had died during the night; the others were ſo weak that they could with difficulty aſcend the hill in order to get to a place of ſhelter.

But to reſume the narrative of the events which followed the departure of the French from Sierra Leone:—It appears that in about three weeks afterwards, an almoſt univerſal ſickneſs prevailed among the whites; being evidently the conſequence, in a great meaſure, of the exertions made by ſome, and the miſeries endured by others, at that criſis. The difficulty of getting medical attendance, (the phyſician and both the ſurgeons being ill, one of the latter of whom died) together with the want of proper food and accommodations, materially aggravated the diſorder, which, as in the inſtance of the firſt ſickly ſeaſon, was fatal chiefly, and almoſt excluſively, to the lower Europeans. The deſtruction of the medicines of the Colony was now moſt ſeverely felt, as will eaſily be conceived, when it is obſerved that the Governor himſelf, after no very ſlight fit of fever, appears to have refrained from taking bark, leſt he ſhould conſume an undue proportion of the ſmall quantity of this article which was left in the Colony. The Directors are much concerned to mention, that out of the 120 ſailors firſt mentioned to have been put on

ſhore at Sierra Leone by the French, no leſs than 80 are already reported to have died. It is ſtated by the Governor that they were never, in any ſtage of the public diſtreſs, in want of at leaſt a regular meal of rice; and the Directors are perſuaded that no meaſures which either prudence or humanity could dictate under the exiſting circumſtances of the Colony, have been neglected, either in reſpect to theſe or any other refugees from the ſlave ſhips, who have been caſt from time to time on the clemency of the Sierra Leone government.

The Directors have the ſatisfaction of being able to cloſe the diſtreſsful hiſtory of the period which they have deſcribed, by obſerving that before the date of the laſt diſpatches, the general ſickneſs is ſaid to have in ſome meaſure abated; that the moſt healthy ſeaſon of the year was approaching; and that a very ſeaſonable ſupply of articles much wanted in the Colony, though in ſome reſpects probably an inadequate one, had juſt been purchaſed from the captain of a chartered veſſel ſent out by the Directors.

The whole pecuniary loſs ſuſtained by the Company on this occaſion, may be computed at about 40,000l. excluſive of the buildings deſtroyed, of which the coſt has been about 15000l; their value however having been much leſs, the ſum likely to be ſpent in replacing ſuch part of them as will now be thought neceſſary, will be probably not more

than

than 2 or 3000l. About 8000l. or 9000l. have been laid out in permanent improvements, ſuch as the conſtruction of works of defence, making roads, a landing place, a wharf, and the allotment and cultivation of lands. The whole property of the Company now remaining, excluſive of the 8000l. or 9000l. dead ſtock laſt mentioned, is computed by the Directors, on a rough calculation, at about 85,000l.

The Governor and Council ſtate, in abatement of the calamity of which they give the account, that ſome good effects may be conſidered as reſulting from it: they obſerve that the late events have opened the eyes of the Nova Scotians to their own folly, in having contended for the ground neareſt to the water ſide, and in having ſo much neglected the cultivation of the more diſtant and mountainous parts; they even remark that the improvement about to take place in the mountains during the enſuing dry ſeaſon, ſeems likely to be as great and important as the detriment which has been recently done to the town. A very favourable opportunity is ſaid to be thus afforded of diſmiſſing from the Company's ſervice a number of Nova Scotians, whom the Governor and Council had been long endeavouring in vain to fix on their farms. The experience which has now been had of the internal reſources of the Colony, is alſo mentioned as a circumſtance extremely conſolatory and important:

the

the ſettlement has been left, for the ſpace of many weeks, deſtitute of almoſt every article from Europe; a great proportion of the live ſtock which had begun to abound in it has been alſo killed, and the Company's boats and ſhipping deſtroyed; and yet no want of neceſſary food has been felt, nor has the calamity been followed by any other evils than thoſe which have been deſcribed. The plan of building on which the Governor and Council mention that they ſhall proceed, is merely that of erecting one conſiderable ſtore, a large dwelling-houſe and a church, all of country materials; the laſt of which was already ſo far advanced that public ſervice was to be performed in it on the Sunday after the date of the diſpatches: ſome meaſures were alſo taken for the erection of a building on the Bulam ſide of the river, for the ſake of additional ſecurity.

On the arrival of the body of intelligence which has juſt been ſtated to the Court, the Directors loſt no time in diſpatching two ſmall veſſels to the ſettlement; each carrying an aſſortment of neceſſaries for its conſumption. They were alſo able to embark a few material articles on board the Amy (the only large ſhip now remaining to the Company), which happened to be detained at Plymouth, and which had already in her a ſmall quantity of goods for trade: a few perſons engaged in the Company's ſervice (the number

of

of whom on receipt of the above intelligence was reduced) are gone out as paſſengers by this veſſel; and among thoſe who have ſet ſail is Mr. Dawes, who had returned to England, having been two years Governor of the Colony. He had been induced by the ſtate of his health, and the circumſtances of his family, to think of retiring from the Company's ſervice; but when ſome information alluded to in a former Report, of a tumult having happened in the Colony, arrived in England, his zeal in the cauſe of the Sierra Leone Company led him again to offer his ſervices. The more recent and ſerious calamity which has ſince happened, and the indiſpoſition of the acting Governor, Mr. Macaulay, ſeemed to render Mr. Dawes's preſence ſo deſirable, that the Directors thought they ſhould not do juſtice to the undertaking, if they were not to avail themſelves of the offer made by this gentleman at ſo extraordinary a criſis.

The Directors propoſe to reduce within very narrow limits, the whole amount of the riſk which the Company is in the time to come likely to incur in Africa; and they alſo hope to ſee a conſiderable reduction effected in the general expenſes of their eſtabliſhment. The ſ ving to be expected from the removal of many ſettlers to their farms has been already ſtated; the contraction of the Company's trade will of courſe be accompanied by a correſponding abatement of the commercial

mercial charges. The diminution which has taken place in the ſhipping of the Company will alſo materially leſſen one chief ſource of expenſe. In conſequence of the recent loſſes, only one ſmall veſſel has been purchaſed, the intended plan of trade not appearing to require any further additions, and the Colony being no longer under the neceſſity of having thoſe frequent ſupplies carried to it, which were at firſt eſſential to its exiſtence.

The Directors think it proper in this place to repeat an opinion which was ſtrongly ſtated in their former Report, that however proſperous the ſituation of the Nova Scotia coloniſts may become, the great ends of the inſtitution of the Sierra Leone Company are not likely to be accompliſhed, unleſs the ſettlers ſhall continue to be furniſhed with inſtructors from hence, and with a government conſiſting of Europeans. The untoward diſpoſition which too many of them have ſhewn, though it may be thought to make them leſs worthy of aſſiſtance, proves however, but too plainly, the importance of beſtowing on them an intelligent and protecting government, and the means of inſtruction alſo; and it ſhould be remembered that not leſs than 300 of their children, beſides thoſe of the natives, are at this time under the care of the Company. When the influence which the Sierra Leone Government has obtained over many powerful and

respectable chiefs, of whose attachment several fresh proofs have been given on the late trying occasion, and when the important uses to which that influence may soon perhaps be turned are contemplated; and when the Company's progress in respect to the interior of Africa, and all the other opening prospects of Civilization which have been stated in the former Report, are brought to recollection, the Directors are persuaded that the Proprietors will feel the same general impression which they have manifested before, and that the great body of them both in the metropolis and in the different parts of the country, will receive satisfaction in hearing that no events which have yet happened at Sierra Leone, have in any degree shaken the resolution of the Directors to prosecute the great cause which has been committed into their hands, with the same zeal with which they first entered upon it.

The Slave Trade, which notwithstanding the war had in some measure revived, is said to have received a considerable blow from the French Squadron; the whole of the property already known to be captured and destroyed by it being supposed to amount to about 400,000l. of which much the greater part was engaged in that pernicious traffic: some commercial advantages, as well as opportunities of increasing the Company's influence, may possibly be the consequence of this

this deſtruction of European property on the neighbouring coaſt.

The Directors cannot forbear repeating in this Report, that they truſt both for the honor of Great Britain and the cauſe of humanity, as well as the intereſts of the Sierra Leone Company, that the æra of the termination of the Trade in Slaves is approaching; and they reflect with ſatisfaction that the maintenance of an eſtabliſhment already formed in the moſt convenient ſpot in Africa, with the direct view of promoting Real Commerce, and aiding the natural progreſs of Civilization, may prove hereafter material, not only as it reſpects the Proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, but as a matter of national policy.

The Directors have thus ſtated the grounds on which they are encouraged to perſevere; they ſhall endeavour to contract both the riſk of the Company and its expenſes, on the principles which have been ſpoken of, at the ſame time purſuing their main object, in ſuch a manner as neither to relinquiſh the commercial advantages of which they have got poſſeſſion, nor ſo as to ſuſpend in any degree the meaſures which are neceſſary to promote the regular and uninterrupted progreſs of civilization.

The Report, of which the above is the ſubſtance, having been read, the General Court unanimouſly reſolved:

" That the Thanks of this Court be given
" to the Court of Directors for the aſſiduity
" with which they have continued to manage
" the affairs of the Company; and that this
" Court do concur with the opinion of the
" Court of Directors, that the laudable pur-
" poſes of this Inſtitution ſhould be purſued."

It was then reſolved,

" That the ſubſtance of the Report juſt
" read to the Court, with ſuch alterations as
" the Court of Directors may think proper
" to make therein, be printed for the uſe of
" the Proprietors."